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THE SOCIETY

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 26, 1871.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON.
FALLADIUM OFFICE.
1871.

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No 56.



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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING APRIL 26, 1871, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock A. M.

JOHN G. METCALF, M.D., was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*, and sworn to the faithful discharge of his duties.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

Mr. HAVEN, on behalf of the Council, read their report.

The reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian were submitted and read as parts of the report of the Council.

On motion of Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, the reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The following names of gentlemen proposed for election to membership were presented by the Council: Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, of Boston; ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., of Cincinnati, Ohio; ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., of Newark, Ohio; Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester; HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D., of Salem.

A vote having been taken by ballot, they were unanimously elected.

EDWARD JARVIS, M.D., read portions of an article prepared by him, on the statistics of Emigration.

On motion of CHARLES DEANE, Esq., it was voted that Dr. JARVIS be requested to furnish an abstract of his valuable paper for publication.

Remarks were made by the President, calling attention to the recent publication by the Academy of the life and works of Count Rumford, prepared by Rev. GEORGE ELLIS, D.D.; followed by statements and explanations from Dr. ELLIS himself.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN G. METCALF,

Recording Secretary

pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN presenting their Semi-Annual Report, at this the usual period, the Council would, in the first place, refer to the reports of the Librarian and the Treasurer, as containing the details of progress in the library, and the present state of the society's finances. These have been adopted by the Council as parts of their own report. It is believed that they will be found to exhibit a satisfactory degree of advancement in the library, and a favorable condition of the funds with reference to their safe and profitable investment.

The property of the society has been carefully and skilfully managed by the Treasurer, and in other ways shows a gratifying, if moderate increase. Contributions to the Publishing Fund are slowly enlarging that indispensable foundation. A gift of a hundred dollars, from Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, was mentioned in the last report, and the same amount has since been received from Mr. EDWARD L. DAVIS.* It is not safe to say beforehand what we shall do when our means are sufficient; but no small store of valuable material for publication, has accumulated in the society's archives. Without the resource derived from

* Since the completion of this report an additional sum of fifty dollars has been contributed to the fund, by Andrew Bigelow, D.D., of Boston.

assessment upon members, and with the policy of a liberal distribution of published matter, large or frequent issues are not at present practicable. The Council have long been desirous to provide for a new edition of the "History of Printing in America," compiled by the first President of the Society, Isaiah Thomas, LL.D. The work is now rarely to be purchased and commands a high price. A revised copy was left by the author, with a view to republication, and considerable additional manuscript matter had also been collected, some of which may probably be used with advantage. It is supposed that a portion at least of the expense of printing may be reimbursed by the sale of copies. Unwilling to delay the accomplishment of so desirable an object, longer than absolute necessity requires, the Council have appointed a committee, consisting of the Librarian and the Treasurer, with authority to incur such expense as may be requisite in preparing the matter, and to contract with a suitable publisher for carrying the work through the press. This committee is, of course, secondary and only accessory to the Standing Committee of Publication.

The Council desire to express a grateful acknowledgment of the effective services of Hon. George F. Hoar, Member of Congress from Worcester, in procuring from the departments at Washington, a large number of public documents required to complete our series, and also for obtaining from the library of Congress a volume of the Worcester Spy, of the year 1776, which was loaned to Mr. Peter Force nearly thirty-three years ago. Other newspapers of great value, borrowed at the same time, were recovered with a good deal of effort not long before Mr. Force's

death, but the volume above mentioned was not found at that time. It passed to the National Library with Mr. Force's collections, and through earnest and judicious attention to the matter by Mr. Hoar, has been surrendered on the receipt of proper evidence of our title.

Although deprived of a place in the list of institutions to which the publications of Congress are distributed under a late provision, by the action of a former representative, Mr. Thayer, in selecting the city library for that privilege, our claims, through a Resolve passed in 1814, have never been absolutely denied. Yet it is necessary from time to time to call attention to them, and to press them, in order to secure their continued recognition. Thus it is that the aid of an efficient friend at Court is found requisite for maintaining that important department of our library. Thanks are also due to Hon. John C. B. Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, for many favors, such as his position enables him to render.

There is little new to report as having recently occurred in the general or the special provinces of Archæology. The extraordinary turn which archæological studies have taken abroad, where, of late, pre-historic remains overshadow the interest of such as are susceptible of historical elucidation, is exerting a marked influence upon similar studies in this country. In that field of inquiry (the pre-historic) we stand upon the same level; or rather the advantage is a little with us, inasmuch as some of the arts and habits of men in the unrecorded periods have been in actual use and practice before our eyes. The antiquaries of Europe are working for us, while investigating the character and condition of the primitive man, and we are furnishing

illustrations, examples, and tests, of the probable correctness of their deductions.

In the early stages of any discovery, whether scientific or historical, while the phenomena developed, though significant, are few in number, the theories deduced from them are usually simple and somewhat positive. By and by unconformable facts are brought to light, and it is found that the theories which charmed by their simplicity need to be qualified, or modified materially, in order to meet the exigencies of new and varied phenomena. This truth is well illustrated in the recent attempt to indicate the stages of human progress by three distinct and definite terms, viz: the Age of Stone, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Upon further investigation it appears that these divisions, so attractive because so simple, lose their distinctive character through numerous exceptions and transpositions. Consequently, if they are retained for their convenience in classification, it must be in a very general way, and without claim to scientific precision. Archæology abounds with instances where theories apparently well established by careful observations and well considered comparisons, repeated and continued through generations of antiquaries, have been suddenly proved to be untenable by the development of new circumstances, or of new points of view from which facts long known are to be regarded.

It is evident that the vestiges of extreme antiquity recently found in all parts of Europe, and the results of their examination, have made a revolution in the pre-historic archæology of Great Britain for instance, and that the pre-historic remains of that country, which have been so

learnedly and so satisfactorily explained in past times, have now assigned them, not unfrequently, a different origin and a different purpose. What has heretofore been written about Stone-Henge and the Druids, about Dolmens, Mounds, and Cromlechs, is to be valued more for its topographical and descriptive information than for the certainty of its theoretical conclusions.

It is equally true that many of the original conceptions and opinions of our own philosophers respecting the sources of population in America, and the nature and purpose of relics of ancient occupancy here, prove to be inconsistent with facts more newly brought to light, or seen under different and clearer aspects.

The traces of ancient semi-civilization in Mexico and Peru were formerly the themes of endless speculation aiming to show, by analogies of customs, arts, or architecture, from what eastern nation those countries must have received their culture if not their primitive inhabitants. But the very number and diversity of analogies that are found with the habits and arts, and even what are usually regarded as peculiarities, of numerous and diverse nations in other parts of the world, have destroyed the force of those ingenious processes of reasoning. It is beginning to be acknowledged that the faculties, instincts, and propensities, of human beings are limited in the extent and variety of their permutations and combinations, and under similar external influences fall into, not exactly the same, but often very similar, modes of operation. There is sufficient idiosyncrasy in the vestiges of the skill and industry of the Mexicans and Peruvians, or their predecessors if there were such, to render it probable that their culture was wholly

underived from any foreign source. It is the last and best opinion of those who have studied the subject by the light of the latest investigations, that whatever degree of civilization had been attained in America was of indigenous origin and growth.

This view, as well as many others relating to population here, has been greatly aided by the indefinite enlargement of the period during which the human race appeared to have existed upon earth. When but five or six thousand years of time were allowed for the spread of mankind throughout the world, it was comparatively easy to enumerate the stages and approximate to the eras in which this diffusion had been brought about. These bases of theory are the way by removing the creation or the origination of that species to a date beyond our powers of computation.

Inquirers are still looking for physical resemblance between the primitive American and one or another of the commonly accepted types of mankind. Strong affinities with both the Mongolian and the Malay are readily observed, and it is a favorite exercise of a deductive fancy to show how easily a Mongolian tribe, or many tribes after one another, might have reached our northwest coast by Behring's Strait, or the Aleutian Islands, where there is no impediment from climate, and where intercourse occasionally takes place even now. There are remarkable analogies of customs and language among the Indians of that coast with those of the native inhabitants of the central and southern portions of the continent. The terminal *tl*, so common in Mexican words, the custom of inserting blocks of wood in the lips and ears, and that of compressing the head, which appear again in southern America, seem to

imply a former connection between the two regions. The constructive tendency of the Chinooks and Babeens, and their fondness for carving strange faces and monstrous forms, remind one more of the monuments of central and southern America than of the habits of the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains. Moreover the Aztec picture writing has been interpreted as describing a migration from that quarter; and among the Mexican terra-cottas some have been found exhibiting the process of compressing the head in the method still practised by the Indians of the Northwest. The practise itself is an Asiatic one of great antiquity.

On the other hand there are many peculiarities characteristic of the past and present races south of the gulf of Mexico, and also on both sides of the isthmus, which favor the hypothesis of derivation from or connection with the Malays of the Pacific Islands. It is evident that the same causes which peopled those islands might have led the same race in a similar way to this continent; and if we go back to the period when the continent of which those islands are apparently the remains was still entire, and when Atlantis existed in the eastern ocean, there will be little difficulty in accounting for communication between all the continents.

Writers who admit a probable course of migration to have been from the northwest along the coast of the Pacific to the extreme south, believe, some of them, that there was another current of population beginning in the South and passing to the North on the east of the Rocky Mountains, and spreading gradually in the United States to the Atlantic—the unsettled tribes reaching farthest, and those of more

stationary habitudes taking possession of the rich lands about the Gulf of Mexico and in the valley of the Ohio.

It is an objection to this theory that the pipe or calumet, which played so important a part in all the solemn and public acts of the northern Indians, was not so employed among the tribes of the southern portion of the continent.

It will now be generally conceded that the tales of the Spanish conquerors, of the advancement in civilization, the numbers and general intelligence, of the people whom they subjected or destroyed, were gross exaggerations; and that our historian, Prescott, over-estimated the trustworthiness of Spanish authors, who had apparently adopted a conventional method of writing about the acquisitions of Spain in America without, it may be, being entirely conscious of its deceptive character. The Spaniards saw much to excite their wonder, and were amazed at what they effected not less than at what they observed and experienced. Extravagance of sentiment and expression grew out of such circumstances.

There is a possible source of error in an opposite direction—that of assigning to a more ancient people a higher civilization than the Mexicans themselves possessed. There are undoubtedly remains of remarkable edifices in the forests of Central America that were not described by the Spaniards, and may have been unknown to them; but they saw structures of hewn stone laid in mortar, of great extent and beauty, then in use, and probably were not more impressed by the appearance of such as had been abandoned to decay. The general style of architecture is said, by some travellers, to be the same in all the remains, and that

it is by no means necessary to ascribe to them a fabulous age and origin. The expression and outline of many of the sculptured heads, among the oldest ruins, resemble features that are common with the Indians now living in the same neighborhood. Catherwood found among the Indians of Palenque one whose face bore a striking resemblance to those on the walls of the buildings. Dr. Berendt had with him, when he visited our institution, a boy from Yucatan, whose profile had the peculiar conformation seen in the older sculptures. The Chevalier Morelet, whose travels in Central America have just been reprinted by Mr. Squier, thought there was a tendency to over-rate the civilization of races "who had no written language, who possessed neither flocks nor beasts of burden, nor the use of iron." He remarks that "the views of Palenque have been perhaps too much eulogized. They are magnificent certainly in their antique boldness and strength; they are invested by the solitude which surrounds them with an air of indescribable but imposing grandeur;" "but I must say," he continues, "without contesting their architectural merit, that they do not justify in their details all the enthusiasm of archaeologists. It is the descendants of these partially civilized Toltecs who are steadily driving the Spaniards out of Central America."

If we may trust the zealous Abbé de Bourbourg, it is not quite certain that the builders of these edifices had no written language. It was well said by Mr. Tylor, (Vice President of the International Archaeological Congress of 1868), that to a certain extent human culture does progress consistently; and evidence as to the condition of any one of its departments really does authorize, in some measure,

an opinion as to its condition as a whole ; yet he shews that a people in their Stone Age may be a settled and numerous agricultural community, and that iron-makers, like the Kaffir and Hottentot tribes, may remain far below the ironless Mexicans and Peruvians. The direction and degree of development will, doubtless, depend partly upon the natural faculties and constructive tendencies of a race, and partly upon the suitableness of surrounding circumstances. It is said that iron ore is found in Africa in a state so malleable that it may be hammered directly into implements, like the crude copper of Lake Superior, from which the mound-builders made rings and axes.

Thus favorable conditions may introduce one or another of the elements of civilization without the rest, and fixed habitation necessarily gives greater finish and variety to the domestic arts whatever they may be. The assumption may nevertheless be justifiable, that in a social state entitled to the name of civilization, there will be a consistency in its prominent features.

The idea that the mound-builders (so called) were a different people from the modern Indians, and of a higher organization physically and intellectually, is still maintained by some writers. Our learned associate, Prof. Wilson, who has written so much and so well upon archæological subjects, appears to hold that opinion.

All that can really be said of the mound-builders without indulging in speculative inferences, is that the art of inclosing considerable areas of land with earthworks of regular form, (circles, squares, and parallelograms,) not uncommon in New York, nor without examples in New England, was, by the so-called mound-builders of the

Mississippi Valley, carried to a superior degree of perfection; the result, perhaps, of a gradual finish received from the hands of many generations of permanent and numerous residents in locations favorable to their increase and support, and in periods of tranquillity and leisure. That their sepulchral tumuli were lofty and numerous may, without improbability, be ascribed to the same circumstances. It has been a well known custom of the Indians to increase the height of such monuments from time to time by repeated additions of earth or stone.* These earth-works, not so peculiar in form as in accuracy of outline and excellence of finish, which certainly are impressive qualities in connection with their number and extent, are all that their makers have left as memorials of themselves above the surface of the earth. There are no evidences of picture-writing, or records of any kind, left by the mound-builders, unless the so-called turkey-track characters, described by Dr. Salisbury and Col. Whittlesey, and the effigy mounds of Wisconsin, should be attributed to them.

Their buried relics yield nothing to distinguish them more positively from the Indian of historic periods. Their pottery was little, if at all, better than the Natchez Indians are recorded to have produced in great quantity and variety, and can be easily matched by the best specimens made by modern tribes in nearly all parts of the country. We are entitled to believe that only the best utensils, and implements of peace or war, were preserved in the tombs—the favorite articles of property deposited with the remains of chiefs. It is a significant point in the question of the

* It was a saying of Confucius, "If I place a basketful of earth on a plain, and continue to do so, I am building a mountain."

advancement of the mound-builders that even their simpler ornaments, and articles of fancy or taste, do not seem to have been of general use, as they are found only in the graves of persons buried with unusual ceremony and care; while the choicest specimens of imitative skill are shown by the figures imitated to be the product of a more southern climate, with which a degree of commercial intercourse may have existed. The small number of copper axes, knives, and armlets, that have been brought to light, hammered from the crude ore, indicate no superior state of art or knowledge. Utensils, ornaments, weapons and structures, are all primitive in character and workmanship, and not beyond the executive capacity of the latest tribes, if having the advantages of stability and abundant means of living.

We may regard the sacrificial mounds, (so denominated) containing marks of fire; into which the most valuable articles had been thrown, sometimes mingled with human bones, as illustrated by the practise of later tribes in times of peril, and especially times of infectious and fatal disease. They would then cast into the flames their most valued possessions, with or without a victim, hoping thereby to appease an angry divinity; and we can imagine the celebrated inclosure near Chillicothe, where these altars are chiefly found, as indicative of a wide-spread and destructive pestilence among the ancient nations that may explain the mystery of their disappearance.

Mr. Tylor, before referred to, in his essay on the condition of pre-historic races, has taken a sensible view of the American mound-builders. Because ten bracelets of hammered copper were found to correspond closely in dimen-

sions and weight, it has been assumed that they were used as weights; and because a number of the square inclosures were ascertained to measure 1080 feet on a side, it has been held that they must have been standards of measure, and may betoken a knowledge of the means of determining angles. Mr. Tylor maintains that such inferences are not justifiable; "for the balance has never been found in use except at a much higher level of civilization than the mound remains indicate; and the second supposition is unnecessary, as a long cord and a bundle of stakes are really all the instruments required for laying out any earthwork of the mound-builders, and for copying those already constructed." He thinks the mound-builders do not appear, on the whole, to have attained to a grade of civilization much above that of some other American tribes usually reckoned as savages, although they constructed earthworks of such magnitude as could only have been produced amid a dense and settled agricultural population. Thus according with views that have heretofore been expressed in this society.

There is good evidence that the work of destruction by plague and conflict among the aborigines of this country had made great progress before the arrival of the whites. We have an instance in Massachusetts of the effects of epidemical disease in causing whole tribes to disappear as distinct bodies; and before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth the ruthless Iroquois had already extended their desolating warfare nearly to the banks of the Mississippi, and as far south as Delaware. Professor Wilson has drawn a striking picture of the degree and extent of the last exterminating agency. He remarks that "the early notices of

the first explorers, and the traditions since gathered from surviving nations, tell of many tribes that have passed away without the malign intervention of European influence." "All this," he says, "was the work of the Indian. As the curtain rises on the aboriginal nations of the forest and the prairie, we find them engaged in this exterminating warfare."* He shows by details of fact how the accounts of nations occupying a wide range of country on the shores of the great lakes, including the whole of Upper Canada and Western New York, illustrate this phase of savage life. What pestilence began, may not unfrequently have been completed by the attacks of relentless foes.†

Many of the earthworks at the west were undoubtedly intended for defence against powerful enemies, and were well adapted to the purpose. When the inclosures were first seen in the forests that covered and obscured them, they were regarded as ramparts implying scientific methods of warfare with trained and regular armies, after the manner of civilized states. The inference was at once

* Wilson's "Prehistoric Man." 2d ed. pp. 534-535.

† Captain John Smith reported, as related to him, that by a plague among the Indians, not long before the arrival of the Pilgrims, all of the Massachusetts tribe were swept away, except thirty. On these their neighbors fell and slew twenty-eight. The two remaining fled the country till the English came. 3 M. H. Coll. iii. 16.

Edward Winslow says: "Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children. The Nanohiggansets (Narragansets) have a spacious house wherein only some few, that are as we may term them priests, come. Thither, at certain times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods—as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c., all which are cast, by the priests, into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house." He adds that the Narragansets attributed their freedom from the plague which prevailed in other places about them to this custom. 2 M. H. Coll. ix. 93-4. See also Hearne's "Journey," 206, as to a similar practise among the Chipewas.

assumed that the Scandinavians had penetrated the country and erected fortifications. The Danes! the Danes! was the explanatory cry of Dr. Mitchell, and other learned antiquaries, seeking a plausible solution of the mystery.

The archæology of the United States has now nearly worked itself free from hypotheses of occupation by the Northmen of any portion of its territory; although a few persons yet maintain that they held possession of parts of New England for more than one century.* It is a sufficient answer to this untenable opinion to mention that in so long a period, or in a briefer period, many of the Northmen must have died and have been buried; that they were a christian people, not without culture; and that in the less favorable country of Greenland they left marks of their presence in memorials of the dead by monuments and inscriptions, and in substantial buildings for worship or residence. No traces of any such remains have been found in New England. Dighton rock, the old Stone Mill at Newport, and the skeleton in armor disinterred at Fall River, have ceased to be claimed by the antiquaries of Copenhagen as proofs of the residence, more or less permanent, of their countrymen near those places. They are even more thoroughly laid aside as indications of foreign presence than the poor little Grave Creek stone, and certain implements asserted to have been found with Hebrew letters or inscriptions upon them.

It would take much time and large space to refer, even briefly, to all the archæological views and speculations relating to this country that have been corrected or disproved by better information. Some of these belong to

* J. G. Kohl, in *Maine Hist. Coll.* 2d se. vol. 1, pp. 82-3.

the physical and some to the linguistic branches of research. The first impression produced by the physical appearance of our aborigines was thus expressed by Humboldt: "The nations of America, except those which border the polar circle, form a single race, characterized by the formation of the skull, the color of the skin, the extreme thinness of the beard, and the straight glossy hair." This opinion of American physical uniformity, (the Esquimaux being excepted) was held by Robertson, Malte Brun, Lawrence, Prichard, Wiseman, and other writers, without question of its accuracy.

The doctrine of uniformity of physical and mental attributes among all the aborigines of this continent, except the Esquimaux, received a sanction and support from Dr. S. G. Morton, the author of "*Crania Americana*," "*An Inquiry into the distinctive characteristics of the aboriginal race of America*," and other works of high reputation, which for a time seemed to be decisive. His conclusions, the result of long study and investigation, especially in his favorite department of craniology, for which he had gathered materials unsurpassed in the world, were definite and positive. He declared that the American Indian, from the southern extremity of the continent to the northern limit of his range, is the same exterior man. With somewhat variable stature and complexion, his distinctive features, though variously modified, are never effaced. "The same conformity of organization is not less obvious in the osteological structure of these people, as seen in the squared or rounded head, the flattened or vertical occiput, the high cheek bones, the ponderous maxillæ, the large quadrangular orbits, and the low, receding forehead."

He includes in this description both the ancient and modern nations—the oldest skulls from Mexico and Peru being of the same type as the heads of existing savage tribes. Having settled, as he supposed, the point of uniformity, he expresses his matured conviction that, as a race, the original Americans are decidedly inferior to the Mongolian stock, with whom, spite of some resemblances, he was not disposed to connect them; for he regarded the Americans as standing isolated from the rest of mankind, and as identified at a glance in every locality, and under every variety of circumstance.

Dr. Morton's remarkable collection of crania became the property of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, and has since been much enlarged. In 1860 it was made the subject of a thorough analytical examination and comparison by Dr. J. Aitken Meigs, the results of which are given in the Proceedings of the Academy of that year. After remarking that Dr. Morton's opinion concerning the typical form of the occiput in the various tribes of American Indians, though very generally acquiesced in by craniographers, has not been accepted by all without qualification, (referring to Dr. Gosse of Geneva, Prof. Wilson of Canada, and Dr. J. B. Davis) he proceeds to say: "From the details which I have presented it will be seen that the opinions upon this subject entertained by Dr. Morton cannot be substantiated by the aboriginal American crania in the Academy's collection. The vertically flattened occiput is by no means a distinctive character of these crania; on the contrary it is only an occasional feature among them, and is exhibited also by the skulls of other and distant races of men." He declares that none of the

forms delineated in the "*Crania Americana*," are diagnostic of the Indian skull, and that they all appertain to the races of the Eastern continent as well as to those of the Western.

The decided positions of Morton, and earlier physiologists, respecting the universality of a particular and distinctive type of features and expression among our aborigines, have proved to be not less fallible. The stature, the figure, the form of the face, and the color, are almost as much varied as among Europeans; leaving, however, signs of kindred origin as perceptible as those which distinguish the Italian from the German or the Scotchman, or the Chinese from the Malay.

Dr. Morton's opinion that the practise of burying the dead in a sitting posture was a common habit of the Americans, identifying them as parts of a single and peculiar race, has not been sustained by later observations. Not only was it far from universal here, but it is shown to have almost equally characterised the pre-historic races of Europe.

The impression of early writers, upheld by Dr. Morton, that the Esquimaux differed essentially from the Indians proper, has also been proved to be without sufficient foundation.

It would be strange if the great progress which of late has been made in a knowledge of the philosophy of language in general, had in no way affected prevalent theories respecting the linguistic system of the American aborigines.

Since Mr. Gallatin prepared his elaborate and very able analytical essays upon American dialects, for this society, and for the Ethnological Society, the subject of the origin, growth and variation, of the forms of human utterance, has

been profoundly studied and largely developed. Language is not a rigid mechanism of speech, but a plastic medium of expression, subject to fluctuation under slight influences. Vocabularies are continually changing from their very nature, and if grammatical regimens are more durable, it is where they conform to the particular genius of a race, and are protected by isolation from other systems.

Certain points, regarded as distinctive features of the American languages,—for example, the formation of words on the principle of agglutination, the non-existence of the substantive verb *to be* as an auxiliary, the absence of abstract terms, peculiarities of gender, and other details of principle or construction, have had additional light thrown upon them since the investigations of Duponceau and Gallatin. Agglutination is not now held to be a characteristic peculiar to American words; the existence among them of the substantive verb, and of abstract terms, is claimed as not infrequently demonstrated; and doubt has been thrown upon the reality of various supposed anomalies. Mr. Gallatin's general conclusions have, however, proved to be remarkably sagacious and well founded; while, in regard to details, he anticipated the possibility of modifications not unlike those which have occurred.

Contrary to the almost universal opinion of early physiologists, he placed the Esquimaux in the same category with other American tribes, on both linguistic and physiological grounds.

Among the members of this society are several gentlemen who have bestowed much attention upon Indian philology; and at the hands of students like Mr. Trumbull,

Dr. Brinton, and Mr. Chase, we may expect that science to receive, if not new aspects, at least farther elucidation. *

It is still held by the best authorities that the American race is one of very great antiquity; that the physical and linguistic affinities throughout the continent, indicate either an original identity, disturbed and diversified by long-continued local influences; or else an ultimate conformity, of a certain extent, produced by long-continued contact or mixture among themselves and isolation from other races. If the Americans came from other countries, they brought with them no domestic animals, and no agricultural products or implements. If they broke off from a parent stock, it was at an era of extreme rudeness. Their arts, their civil institutions and religious notions, are all their own; approximating those of other races only in accordance with the natural tendencies and proclivities of human instincts and faculties. They appear to have been, on the whole, inferior, in capacity for advancement, to the Turanian races of the Eastern world.*

If by some clairvoyant illumination we could obtain a glimpse of the primitive state of Europe in its stone age, it is not unlikely that we should observe a condition of things parallel or analagous to the primitive state of America,—a prevalent physical and mental resemblance, with particular diversities of form, stature, complexion, craniological structure, and degrees of culture, according to local positions and circumstances; from the makers

*The important memoir by Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, (a member of this society), in the last volume of "Smithsonian Contributions," supplies new and striking means of detecting cognate races, through a comparison of the different systems of family relationship as a basis for the classification of nations.

of the rudest articles of flint and pottery, through those who gave them a better finish, through builders of mounds and intrenchments, to lake dwellers and constructors of cyclopean monuments and edifices; with an equal variety of savage and semi-civilized, hunting, fishing, and agricultural tribes. It may be added, from numerous indications, with similar barbarous rites and usages, to the extent of human sacrifices and cannibalism, pervading, or mingling with, the whole.

But while the stone age of this isolated continent was broken in upon only a few centuries ago by the invasion of more highly organized races, and the processes of amalgamation, assimilation, or extirpation, are not yet accomplished, though in gradual and certain progress, like events, from like causes, doubtless occurred in Europe, at some pre-historic period beyond our knowledge or means of determination.

Thus does human history seem, in a manner, to repeat itself, and civilization to advance less by the continued improvement of original families of men than by the rise of fresh or superior races over the subjection or extinction of their predecessors.

Four members, two of whom were very aged, have died since the last meeting of the society.

Henry M. Breckenridge, an eminent jurist and diplomatist, long retired from public life, died at Pittsburg, Pa., in January last, in the 85th year of his age. He was born in the same city, May 11, 1786. He commenced the practice of law at the age of twenty. In 1811 he received the appointment of Deputy Attorney General for the territory of New Orleans, afterwards the State of Louisiana. The

next year he was made District Judge, though but twenty-three years old. During the war of 1812 he corresponded with the government, giving valuable information; and subsequently wrote a history of the war, which was translated into French and Italian. He took an active part in connection with Mr. Clay on behalf of the acknowledgment of the independence of the South American Republics. He wrote a pamphlet under the name of "an American," addressed to Mr. Monroe, then President, which was reprinted in England and France, and was replied to by the Duke of San Carlos, the Spanish minister. Mr. Breckenridge was named on the commission to the South American Republics which sailed in December, 1817; and on his return published a work in two volumes entitled "A Voyage to South America," which was highly commended by Humboldt, as containing "an extraordinary mass of information, and replete with philosophic views." He entered Florida in 1821 with General Jackson, to whom he was of great service on account of his knowledge of the French and Spanish languages and usages; and in May was made judge of the Western District. In 1832 he removed to Pittsburg. In 1840 he was elected to Congress; and the following year was appointed a Commissioner under the treaty with Mexico.

Besides the works already named, he published "Views of Louisiana in 1810," "Recollections of Persons and Places in the West," "Essay on Trusts and Trustees," and wrote a history of the Western Insurrection.

The publications of Henry M. Breckenridge are sometimes mixed and confounded with those of his father, Hugh Henry Breckenridge, also a distinguished author and

jurist. The last was born in Scotland, but came to America at the age of five; and on graduating at Princeton College composed and delivered a poetical dialogue, in conjunction with Philip Freneau, afterwards celebrated as a poet; the title of their piece being "The Rising Glory of America." He was a fine classical scholar, and eminent for his social wit and for his ardor in politics. He held the office of Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania many years, till his death, and published some law miscellanies, besides various historical and humorous works. His son, our late associate, inherited his father's industry and his graver literary tastes. He had so nearly survived his generation at Pittsburg, that, in answer to inquiries addressed to that place, it is stated to be difficult to obtain details of his private life except from his own works and papers.

Mr. Thomas Buckingham Smith died in New York, quite suddenly, on the sixth of January last. He was of New England family origin, although a Southerner by birth. His parents were from Watertown, Connecticut, but he was born on Cumberland Island, in Georgia, in 1810. His childhood was passed, in part, at St. Augustine, Florida; but at about the age of fourteen he was in the City of Mexico with his father, who resided there as United States Consul. His father dying in 1825, he became the ward of his maternal uncle, by whom he was placed, in 1827, at Washington, now Trinity, College, Hartford, Conn., where he remained three years. Afterwards he entered the Law School at Cambridge; and completed his legal studies in the office of Judge Fessenden of Maine, father of the late Senator Wm. Pitt Fessenden. Returning to his

southern home at St. Augustine, he engaged in the practise of his profession. He was soon elected to the Florida assembly, and was for a time speaker; but a taste for historical and antiquarian studies soon developed itself, and acquired a paramount interest over political aspirations. In 1850 he was appointed Secretary of Legation to Mexico, for which his former acquaintance with the country and its language gave him advantages. In 1851, while the post of minister was vacant, he acted in the capacity of *chargé d'affaires*. While in Mexico his intimacy with Don Jose F. Ramires, and other gentlemen of high political and literary position, enabled him with their aid to commence a collection of valuable documents relating to the history of Florida. He made a translation of the narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, the sole survivor of the expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaes to reduce Florida. This was followed by Hernando de Soto's letter from Florida, July 9, 1539, and the memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda respecting Florida, written in Spain about the year 1575. These were privately issued at the charge of Mr. George W. Riggs, Jr., of Washington, in quarto volumes, handsomely printed, and of course are rarely to be met with. His reputation as a Spanish scholar and historical student led to his appointment as Secretary of Legation to Spain, in June, 1855. He returned to this country in September, 1858, and soon began to contribute valuable historical and archæological articles to the Historical Magazine and other publications of that nature.

During the war of the Rebellion his loyal tendencies led him to take up his abode in New York, where he prosecuted his literary studies and labors. It is said that

while his estate in Florida suffered greatly by the war and the liberation of the slaves, he continued till death to maintain the aged and infirm negroes who had belonged to the family.

The voyage of Estevan Gomez along our northern coasts had been one of his subjects of study and research, and in the investigation he was led to examine critically the account of Verrazano's voyage, published in Ramusio's large work. Convinced that the narrative was a fabrication, he set forth the grounds of his opinion in an "Inquiry into the Authenticity of Documents concerning a Discovery in North America claimed to have been made by Verrazano," which was read before the New York Historical Society in 1864, and printed. Excited by the discoveries of Mr. Bergenroth among the Spanish archives, he hastened to Spain in search of new material. In this he is reported to have been successful; and he came home prepared to issue in a more extended form, with ample documents, his examination into the authenticity of Verrazano's narrative. Unfortunately he died before his intention was accomplished. He was a gentleman of large and liberal culture and pleasing manners, and much endeared to his friends.*

Rev. Alonzo Hill, D.D., late Recording Secretary of this society, who died on the first of February last, was born in Harvard, June 20th, 1800; the son of Oliver and Mary Goldsmith Hill, of that place. He fitted for college

* A full account of Mr. Smith's literary labors will appear in a memoir by Dr. J. Gilmary Shea, appended to a reprint of the "Relation of Cabeza de Vaca," at the charge of Hon. Henry C. Murphy, now in the press; which we have kindly been permitted to see.

at Groton Academy, now Lawrence Academy, and entered Harvard college in 1818. On his graduation, in 1822, he was appointed assistant preceptor of Leicester Academy, where he remained two years. He entered the Divinity School at Cambridge a year in advance, graduating with the class of 1826. Having declined invitations to churches in Baltimore and Washington, he accepted a call to become associate pastor with the venerable Dr. Bancroft of Worcester, and was ordained March 28, 1827. After ten years of ministerial duty, his health becoming impaired, he passed the winter of 1837-8 in Cuba. From that period his constitution grew stronger and able to sustain easily the labors of a minister's life. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1851, and from 1851 to 1854 was one of the Board of Overseers. He had long been a member of this society, and in 1865, on the resignation of Hon. Edward Mellen, accepted the office of recording secretary, which he retained till his death.

Dr. Hill was fond of writing historical and memorial discourses, as men are apt to like that which they do easily and well. He preached an historical sermon at the end of twenty-five years of his ministry; and on the 28th of March, 1867, commemorated the fortieth anniversary of his settlement by an animated and interesting address to his society, which was printed under the title of "The Pastor's Record." His parishioners and friends took advantage of the occasion to inaugurate a social festival, and to express to him in various ways their strong affection and respect. About two years later his health began to fail, and he resigned the active duties of the parish; retaining, however, the relation

to it, and degree of service in its ministrations, consistent with freedom from responsibility and from confinement to residence in the place.

Dr. Hill was always actively engaged in promoting the welfare of the schools, and all benevolent and philanthropic enterprises ; and had a cosmopolitan interest in the religious societies and institutions of the city, of whatever sect or faith. He did not engage in pursuits or aim at distinctions disconnected from the proper functions of a pastor and preacher : for those functions, and the sympathies they create and cherish, he manifested his devotion to the last moment of consciousness.

Hon. Oliver B. Morris died at Springfield, Mass., on the eleventh day of the present month, at the age of eighty-eight. He was born in South Wilbraham, September 22, 1782. His father, Edward Morris, was a soldier of the Revolution, and his mother was the daughter of John Bliss, of Wilbraham, an officer of the Massachusetts militia in the same war, and afterwards County Judge and Representative in the General Court. The subject of this notice was graduated at Williams College in 1801, and was the oldest living graduate of that institution. He studied law in Springfield, with Mr. George Bliss, whose daughter he married. He held many offices of trust, in his profession and aside from it, and bore a prominent part in all the public affairs of his locality,—being a man of strong feelings and positive convictions. He was an impassioned speaker, and always commanded the attention of his hearers. In 1813 he was appointed Register of Probate for Hampden County, and Judge of the same Court in 1829 ; and held the latter office until 1858. From 1820 to 1832 he was also prosecuting

officer of the County. During the years 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1813, he represented Springfield in the Legislature; and in 1820 was a member of the Convention which revised the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

Probably no man was so familiar as Judge Morris with the early history of Springfield and its people. About the year 1847, he wrote a series of interesting local reminiscences for the Springfield Gazette. It is matter of regret that more of the valuable information of that nature which he possessed was not preserved in a permanent form.

Respectfully submitted,

For the Council.

S. F. HAVEN.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report, for the six months ending April 22d, 1871.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was		\$28,019.14
Received for dividends and interest since,	- -	1,239.56
		<hr/>
		29,258.70
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses since,		1,041.32
		<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	- - - -	\$28,217.38
<i>The Collection and Research Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was		\$12,906.90
Received for dividends and interest since,	- -	550.22
		<hr/>
		13,457.12
Paid for books and incidentals,	- - - -	57.74
		<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	- - - -	13,399.38
<i>The Bookbinding Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was,		\$9,596.33
Received for dividends and interest since,	- -	410.22
		<hr/>
		10,006.55
Paid for binding and part of Salary of Assistant Librarian,	- - - - -	287.08
		<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	- - - -	9,719.47
<i>The Publishing Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was		\$10,344.76
Received for dividends and interest since,	- -	435.96
Received from Edward L. Davis, Esq., as addition to fund,	- - - - -	100.00
Received from Andrew Bigelow, D.D., as addition to fund,	- - - - -	50.00
		<hr/>
		10,930.72
Paid for printing semi-annual report,	- - -	188.32
		<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	- - - -	10,742.40
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was		\$9,406.57
Received for interest since,	- - - - -	291.57
		<hr/>
Present amount of the Fund,	- - - -	9,758.14
Amount carried forward,	- - -	\$71,836.77

Amount brought forward, - - -	\$71,886.77
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was - - -	\$647.75
Received for interest since, - - -	18.83
Present amount of the Fund, - - -	666.08
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , Oct. 19, 1870, was - -	\$1,032.20
Received for interest since, - - -	30.00
Present amount of the Fund, - - -	1,062.20
Total of the seven Funds,	\$73,565.05
Cash on hand included in foregoing statement,	\$1,115.05

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock, - - -	\$14,400.00
Railroad Stock, - - -	5,100.00
Railroad Bonds, - - -	5,700.00
United States Bonds, - - -	1,800.00
City Bonds, - - -	1,000.00
Cash, - - -	47.38
	\$28,217.38

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock, - - -	\$4,200.00
Railroad Stock, - - -	800.00
Railroad Bonds, - - -	4,800.00
United States Bonds, - - -	3,050.00
City Bonds, - - -	500.00
Cash, - - -	49.38
	13,399.38

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock, - - -	\$5,700.00
Railroad Stock, - - -	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds, - - -	3,000.00
Cash, - - -	19.47
	9,719.47

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock, - - -	\$1,800.00
Railroad Bonds, - - -	4,000.00
United States Bonds, - - -	3,000.00
City Bonds, - - -	1,000.00
Note, - - -	500.00
Cash, - - -	442.40
	10,742.40
Amount carried forward, - - -	\$62,078.63

Amount brought forward, - - - - \$62,078.63
The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock, - - - - -	100.00	
Railroad Stock, - - - - -	400.00	
Railroad Bonds, - - - - -	700.00	
United States Bonds, - - - - -	500.00	
City Bonds, - - - - -	8,000.00	
Cash, - - - - -	58.14	
	<hr/>	9,758.14

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds, - - - - -	\$500.00	
United States Bonds, - - - - -	100.00	
Cash, - - - - -	66.08	
	<hr/>	666.08

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds, - - - - -	\$1,000.00	
Cash, - - - - -	62.20	
	<hr/>	1,062.20

Total of the seven Funds, - - -	<hr/>	<hr/>	\$73,565.05
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Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated; and they are safely and judiciously made.

ISAAC DAVIS,
 EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE Librarian begs leave to report that, since the meeting of the Society in October, up to the 12th of the present month, when the account was closed, there have been added to the library by gift 1055 books, 2964 pamphlets, 106 volumes of unbound newspapers, 18 maps, 4 engravings, 2 coins, 7 photographs, and a quantity of business circulars and cards.

There have been procured by purchase 22 books and 12 pamphlets, and by exchange 72 books and 52 pamphlets; and 41 books have been prepared and put into binding. The total of increase is 1190 books, and 3028 pamphlets; the number of unbound newspapers, maps, engravings, coins, &c., being as before stated.

The usual list of donors and donations accompanies this report. Presentation copies of publications from the authors themselves have always a particular interest in a library, and also an enhanced market value. It may be seen in the schedule that such have been received from Rev. David Weston, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Charles Sumner, Charles H. Hart, Esq., Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, Isaac Smucker, Esq., Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee, Francis W. Goddard, Esq., Wm. S. Appleton, Esq., Charles Deane, Esq., David G. Brinton, M.D., Ashbel Woodward, M.D.,

Rev. A. P. Marvin, Capt. George Henry Preble, U.S.N., Henry Stevens, Esq., Hon. George F. Hoar, Charles W. Parsons, M.D., Col. Albert H. Hoyt, Mr. Phillip Frank Perry, J. O. Williams, Esq., Elihu Burritt, Esq., Col. Charles Whittlesey, Nathaniel Paine, Esq., Ellis Ames, Esq., Wm. F. Poole, Esq., Henry A. Homes, Esq., Hon. E. G. Squier, Thomas Kirkbride, M.D., Rev. Wm. H. Sanford, Rev. A. Judson Rich, Harry H. Edes, Esq.

Two of the gentlemen here mentioned, Rev. David Weston and Rev. A. P. Marvin—the first for his new edition of Backus's Church History, the other for his History of Worcester in the War of the Rebellion, have drawn largely upon our collections for aid and materials in preparing their valuable works. The productions of most of the authors who have thus remembered the society are historical, archæological, or genealogical, and specially appropriate gifts.

Some other donations it may be well to notice particularly. We have received from John Cotton, M.D., of Pomfret, Conn., three ancient volumes containing autographs of the Cotton family, and from Wm. Mather Cotton, of Providence, R. I., seven volumes of the same character, with autographs of members of that historical family.

Pliny Earle, M.D., Superintendent of the hospital for the Insane at Northampton, has collected for the library an extensive series of Reports, &c., relating to the Insane Asylums of Great Britain and America.

The State Librarian of Vermont has afforded us valuable assistance towards filling gaps in our series of the documents of that State.

Mr. Luther H. Bigelow, publisher and bookseller, in Worcester, has presented the remainders of the editions of the Worcester Directories of 1869 and 1870, consisting of 500 copies, which will be useful in making exchanges.

A donation of 207 books, 591 pamphlets, and three maps, from the library of the Rev. Dr. Hill, was made by his widow and children.

Through the kind agency of Hon. George F. Hoar, Representative from Worcester in Congress, we are indebted to Messrs. Rives and Bailey, of Washington, for eight early and rare volumes of the Congressional Globe, wanting in our set; and to the U. S. Department of the Interior for forty-five volumes of U. S. Documents towards supplying our deficiencies.

Hon. John Carter Brown has presented the two additional volumes of the handsome bibliographical catalogue of his remarkable library, prepared by Hon. John R. Bartlett, of which only a very small number of copies, for private distribution, have been printed. The publication of a catalogue of any peculiar collection of books is an invaluable contribution to Bibliography; and all students, and especially all persons having the care or management of libraries, must be grateful for the means of information and general assistance so provided. It will be a most gratifying fact if the report proves true, that a distinguished bibliographer is now engaged in preparing a catalogue of the library of James Lenox, Esq., of New York, well known to be as choice and rare as extensive and costly—ranking with the most celebrated private collections abroad.

There is no single way in which a great institution having a large library can more gracefully or usefully acknowledge

the obligations it may owe to the public or the world of letters, than by printing a catalogue of its literary possessions. It is a contribution to the cause of learning of means and helps for the acquisition of knowledge from which every smaller library, and almost every scholar, may derive the most important advantage and instruction. It has long been the opinion of your librarian that such a service is due from our rich and prosperous University to the community whose favors to it are so liberal and constant. A sense of such duty or obligation was manifested by our own society many years ago, in the publication of a catalogue of nearly six hundred large 8vo. pages, which, although of slight pecuniary advantage to the institution, has been of great assistance to collectors, to persons engaged in research, and to other libraries.

It is not very probable that the grand scheme of the late Prof. Jewett, for a general catalogue, or rather a collection of stereotyped titles which might be made to serve for all libraries, will be carried into effect; but catalogues of some large and varied collections, and of all that are of a special character, are undeniable desiderata.

The American Antiquarian Society will doubtless be ready to repeat the example it so promptly presented for imitation whenever its resources will permit the necessary expenditure.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester.—Four books, and ninety-two pamphlets.

JOHN COTTON, M.D., Pomfret, Conn.—“A Defense of the Way to the True Church,” 1614; “Annotations upon all the books of the Old and New Testament,” 1651; the “Complete Letter Writer,” 1793.

MR. WILLIAM MATHER COTTON, Providence, R. I.—Owen’s “Mortification of Sinne in Believers,” 1656; Feltham’s “Resolves: Divine, Moral, Political,” 1661; Watts’ Lyric Poems, 1706; Matthew Henry’s Works, 1726; Coleman’s Sacramental Discourses, 1728; Hannah Adams’ Alphabetical Compendium of Sects, 1784; and “Moses, His Choice.”

THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Public Documents for 1869, four vols.; Acts and Resolves, 1870.

REV. DAVID WESTON, Worcester.—Backus’ History of the Baptists, Second Edition, with notes, by Mr. Weston, 2 vols., 1871; eighteen pamphlets; The Nation, 1868–69; and a parcel of the Watchman and Reflector.

HON. J. C. B. DAVIS, Washington, D. C.—Reports of the U. S. Commissioners to the Paris Exposition, 1867, six vols.; Washington Astronomical and Meteorological Observations, 1867–70; Foreign Relations of the United States, 1870; and Register of the Department of State, 1870.

ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—Third Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, December, 1869; and eleven choice pamphlets.

MR. JOHN G. SMITH, Worcester.—Three books, twenty almanacs, sixty-one miscellaneous pamphlets, and three maps.

MESSRS. RICE AND WHITING, Worcester. — Six U. S. Public Documents ; and five Railroad pamphlets.

JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster. — Two hundred and one numbers of the Law Reporter.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester. — Merchants' and Bankers' Almanac, 1870 ; one hundred and thirty-one numbers of periodicals ; forty-three pamphlets ; and various newspapers, circulars and cards.

Mrs. MARY H. SAWYER, St. Albans, Vt. — Twenty-four books, one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets, and ten incomplete vols. of Niles' Register.

Rev. W. H. BROOKS, D.D., Webster. — Four Protestant Episcopal Convention Reports.

Miss REBECCA LEE, Boston. — Thirteen books, one hundred and thirty-three pamphlets, and various newspapers in numbers.

MESSRS. BACON & ALDRICH, Worcester. — Fifty-four books, and three hundred and twenty pamphlets.

GEORGE H. MOORE, Esq., New York. — Report of the N. Y. Constitutional Convention, 1867-68, twelve vols.

MESSRS. STRONG & ROGERS, Worcester. — The Miner's Journal for 1870.

Rev. J. H. FITTS, West Boylston. — Three hundred and fifty-eight pamphlets ; and parcels of the Christian Banner, Independent, Congregationalist, Right Way, Nation, and Church Union.

HENRY C. RICE, Esq., Worcester. — Twelve numbers of the American Law Register.

Misses GAY, Suffield, Conn. — The Connecticut Courant for 1870.

PLINY EARLE, M.D., Northampton. — Fifty-three vols. Reports of Insane Asylums in England and America.

THE STATE LIBRARY OF VERMONT. — Eight books and fifty-one pamphlets, mostly State Documents.

MESSRS. WITHERBY, RUGG & RICHARDSON, Worcester. — Eight business directories.

YALE COLLEGE LIBRARY. — Twenty-eight college pamphlets.

Rev. WILLIAM R. HUNTINGTON, Worcester. — Twenty-four selected pamphlets.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston. — Four books, and one hundred and twenty-three pamphlets.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. — Three books and eight pamphlets; being Reports of Commissioners to the Paris Exposition, 1867.

REV. ISAAC R. WORCESTER, Boston. — The *Missionary Herald* for December, 1870.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — One hundred and seventy eight numbers of periodicals, twenty six files of newspapers, and the *Association Monthly*, as issued.

MR. LUTHER H. BIGELOW, Worcester. — Five hundred copies of Worcester Directories for 1869 and 1870, and two pamphlets.

HON. P. EMORY ALDRICH, Worcester. — Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-65, vol. 2, and fourteen pamphlets.

THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. — Fifty-four pamphlets.

MESSRS. RIVES & BAILEY, Washington, D. C., through Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR. — Eight rare vols. of the *Congressional Globe*, 1835-1843.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY. — Catalogue of books in the Circulating Department, and forty-five files of newspapers.

THE FAMILY OF THE REV. ALONZO HILL, D.D. — Two hundred and seven books, five hundred and ninety-one pamphlets, and three maps.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, through Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR. — Forty-five vols. *Congressional Documents*.

REV. GEORGE ALLEN, Worcester. — Addington's *Penal Statutes*, 4to, 1783; *Roman's Troubles in the Netherlands*, vol. 1, 1778; *Morier's Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*; ten pamphlets; *Worcester Palladium*, 1861-70; *Congregationalist*, 1861-67; one map; and a collection of circulars.

MRS. JOHN DAVIS, Worcester. — Memorial of General Hasbrouck Davis; *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, 2 vols.; seven valuable books; and a military map, showing the marches of the United States forces under the command of Maj.-Gen'l W. T. Sherman, U. S. A., during the years 1863-1865.

- HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston.—His oration on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth; Third Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum; Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, February, 1871; their Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi; and tributes of the Mass. Historical Society to the memory of Hon. David Sears and George Ticknor, LL.D.
- MESSRS. JENKINS & WHITCOMB, Worcester.—The original drafts of thirteen maps of towns in Worcester County, Mass.; and one pamphlet.
- HARVARD COLLEGE.—Three college pamphlets.
- HON. CHARLES SUMNER, Washington, D. C.—His lecture on the Duel between France and Germany; Reports of the U. S. Commissioners to the Paris Exposition, 1867, 6 vols.; Congressional Documents, 1868-70, 13 vols.; twelve pamphlets; and the "Two Republics" in continuation.
- HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.—Eighty-nine numbers of English and American periodicals; eight pamphlets; nine Commissions issued to Hon. E. D. Bangs; four manuscript sermons; Advocate of Peace; Bible Society Record; Saturday Review; six files of newspapers; and one photograph.
- ALBERT WOOD, M.D., Worcester.—Two books and four pamphlets.
- CHARLES H. HART, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.—His biographical sketches of His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, Gulian C. Verplanck, LL.D., and Hon. Richard S. Field, LL.D.; also an obituary notice of Franklin Peale, by Robert Patterson; and three vols. on Spanish America for the Isaac Davis Alcove.
- MR. GEORGE SUMNER, Worcester.—Addresses at Cambridge February 21, 1800, in solemn commemoration of General George Washington; and an engraved portrait of Rev. Joseph Sumner, of Shrewsbury.
- HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford, Conn.—His article on some alleged specimens of Indian Onomatopœia; and his account of the reinterment of the remains of Lady Alice Apsley Boteler Fenwick, at old Saybrook, in 1870.
- MRS. H. P. STURGIS, Boston.—One book, and three pamphlets.

ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O. — "Pioneer Pamphlets," No. 6; and "Pioneer Historical Papers," Nos. 70-79.

Mr. JOHN L. HAYES, Editor, Boston. — Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Growers, Vol. I. Nos. 1-3; Vol. II, No. 1.

WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester. — Thirteen early pamphlets.

ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose. — Four Town Reports.

GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D., Worcester. — Three pamphlets, and three manuscript letters.

Rev. CALEB DAVIS BRADLEE, Boston. — His lecture on the Life, Writings and Character of Rev. Thomas Starr King; five pamphlets; two photographs; and an ancient copper coin.

Hon. JOHN D. BALDWIN, Worcester. — Six pamphlets.

NATHANIEL EDDY, Esq., Millbury. — Campbell's Treatise of Conversion, Faith and Justification, 1743; and Chapone's Letters, 1802.

FRANCIS W. GODDARD, Esq., Providence, R. I. — Political and Miscellaneous Writings of William G. Goddard, edited by his son, Francis W. Goddard, 2 vols., 1870.

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, Esq., Boston. — His "Ancestry of Priscilla Baker;" and his "Description of a Selection of Coins and Medals relating to America." Also, "Genealogy of the early generations of the Coffin Family."

Mr. T. H. BARTLETT, Worcester. — Two books.

WILLIAM CROSS, Esq., Treasurer, Worcester. — Three photographic views, showing the effect of the explosion at the Worcester Gas Works, December 16, 1870.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their second Annual Report.

ALL SAINTS' PARISH BOOK CLUB, Worcester. — Two pamphlets.

THE LIBRARY OF AMHERST COLLEGE. — "Opening of Walker Hall, Amherst College, October 20, 1870."

TRUSTEES OF DONATIONS TO THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH of the Diocese of Massachusetts. — An abstract of their Records, 1810-70.

HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — San Francisco Municipal Reports, 1869-70; and Mining Review, for 1870.

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT. — Finance Report, 1870.

Major L. A. H. LATOUR, Montreal, Canada. — Report of the Minister of Public Works, 1870.

HON. EDWARD MELLEN, Worcester. — Memorial of Nathaniel James Lord.

U. S. QUARTER-MASTER GENERAL. — Roll of Honor, No. 25.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge. — "Bradford's Dialogue," edited with a preface and notes by Charles Deane.

ASHEEL WOODWARD, M.D., Franklin, Conn. — His history of Franklin, Conn.

Mr. J. S. WESBY, Worcester. — "The Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, 1853-54," by Horace Greeley.

THE CITY OF BOSTON. — A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.

Rev. ABELIAH P. MARVIN, Worcester. — His History of Worcester in the War of the Rebellion.

Capt. GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N. — His genealogical sketch of the Prebles in America.

HENRY STEVENS, Esq., London, G. B. — Schedule of two thousand American Historical Nuggets, October, 1870.

CHARLES W. PARSONS, M.D., Providence, R. I. — His memoir of Usher Parsons, M.D., of Providence, R. I.

ANDREW H. GREEN, Esq., New York. — The thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Central Park.

JOSEPH HENRY STICKNEY, Esq., Baltimore, Md. — "The Stickney Family;" a genealogical memoir of the descendants of William and Elizabeth Stickney, from 1637 to 1869.

Prof. EDWARD NORTH, Clinton, N. Y. — Annual Catalogue of Hamilton College, 1870-71.

JAMES H. SALISBURY, M.D., Cleveland, O. — One photograph.

SOLOMON LINCOLN, Esq., Boston. — "Centennial Anniversary of the town of Cohasset, May 7, 1870."

Mr. A. T. GOODMAN, Cleveland, O. — "Alabama, or Here we Rest, an Indian Legend of olden times."

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND ABANDONED LANDS. — One pamphlet.

Mr. PHIL FRANK PERRY, New Hartford, Conn. — His Poems.

ALBERT H. HOYT, Esq., Boston.—His memoir of William Plumer, senior.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Newark, N. J.—Sixteenth Report of N. J. State Normal School.

CHARLES B. SALISBURY, Esq., Little York, N. Y.—One photograph.

J. O. WILLIAMS, Esq., Boston.—His "Mammoth Trees of California."

ELIHU BURRITT, Esq., New Britain, Conn.—His "Western and Eastern Questions of Europe."

Col. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, Cleveland, O.—His "Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio."

J. WARREN LAWTON, Esq., New York.—Lettre-Journal de Paris, sent from Paris by balloon, Nov. 22d, 1870.

ELLIS AMES, Esq., Canton.—His history of the Redman Farm, Canton, Mass.

WILLIAM F. POOLE, Esq., Cincinnati, O.—The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, by Governor Thomas Hutchinson, with notes by Mr. Poole.

HENRY A. HOMES, Esq., Albany, N. Y.—His "California and the Northwest Coast one Hundred Years since."

REV. SAMUEL C. DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.—"The Friend," for 1870.

HON. E. G. SQUIER, New York.—His "Observations on the Geography and Archæology of Peru."

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester.—His speech on National Education; and a gold-piece, coined by the Mormons of Utah.

THOMAS KIRKBRIDE, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, 1870.

Rev. WILLIAM H. SANFORD, Worcester.—His twentieth anniversary Sermons, preached in Boylston, Mass., October, 1852.

Rev. A. JUDSON RICH, Brookfield, Mass.—His historical discourse, delivered on occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Congregational Church, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Sunday School, in Westminster, Mass., Sept. 9, 1868.

MR. E. BEAMAN RICE, West Boylston. — Commemorative services of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Sabbath-School at West Boylston, Mass., June 16, 1868.

HON. CHARLES DEVENS, Jr., Worcester. — The two Springfield editions of the "Correspondence of Messrs. David Dudley Field and Dudley Field, of the New York Bar, with Mr. Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican."

HON. JOSEPH T. WOODWARD, Augusta, Me. — Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Fisheries of the State of Maine.

HARRY H. EDES, Esq., Charlestown. — Annual election Sermon, January 4, 1871; with an Appendix by Mr. Edes, on the election sermons of Massachusetts.

DAVID G. BRINTON, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa. — Four of his Monographs, viz: "Contributions to a Grammar of the Muskokee Language," "National Legend of the Chata-Muskokee Tribes," "Ancient Phonetic Alphabet of Yucatan," and "The Arawack Language of Guiana, in its Linguistic and Ethnological Relations." Also, Byington's grammar of the Choctaw Language, edited by Dr. Brinton; and *Actes de la Société Philologique*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

MRS. S. F. WOODHULL, Bangor, Me. — A newspaper account of the Bangor Centennial, 1869.

WILLIAM LAWTON, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y. — Various newspapers, containing historical matter.

HON. JOHN CARTER BROWN, Providence, R. I. — Catalogue of Books relating to North and South America, in the Library of John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I.; with notes by John Russell Bartlett, Part III. 1701 to 1800, vols. 1 and 2.

TRUSTEES OF HINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY. — Hon. Thomas Russell's Dedication Address, with an appendix.

THE N. E. HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — Quarter-Century Anniversary Discourse, by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter; and their Register as issued.

THE VERMONT DAIRYMEN'S ASSOCIATION. — Their Transactions for 1869-70.

THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY COMPANY. — Their List of Books added July, 1870, to January, 1871.

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE.—Their thirty-second Annual Report.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Report for 1870.

THE OHIO STATE LIBRARY.—Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Commissioners.

THE PEABODY INSTITUTE, Baltimore, Md.—Proceedings on the announcement of the death of Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy.

MAINE STATE LIBRARY.—Report for the year 1871.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY CO., Philadelphia, Pa.—Priced List of surplus works.

TRUSTEES OF THE NEW BEDFORD FREE LIBRARY.—Their nineteenth Annual Report.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF ORANGE.—Their Constitution and By-Laws.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.—Their Journal, Vol. XXXIX.; and Proceedings, Vol. XIV., Nos. 1 to 5.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Their Transactions, Vol. XLII.; and Proceedings, Vol. IV., No. 8.

THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION OF ARCHEOLOGY, St. Petersburg.—Their Report for the year 1868.

THE IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Annals, Vol. VIII., No. 4, and Vol. IX., No. 1.

THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Their Proceedings Vol. XIII. pp. 79.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Collections, Vol. III., Part I.; and Annual Report for the year 1870.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Their Proceedings, Nos. 2 and 3, for 1870.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.—Their Constitution and By-Laws, 1870; and Accession List, March 9 to December 14, 1870.

THE PEABODY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Second and third annual Reports of the Trustees for the years 1869 and 1870.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Their Proceedings, Vol. II., No. 2, Second Series.

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Canadian Journal, Vol. XII., No. 6.

- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, of San Francisco. — Their Reports for the years 1868, 1869, and 1870.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — Their Transactions for the year 1870.
- THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, Vol. 1; and Proceedings for October and November, 1870.
- WORCESTER COUNTY FREE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE. — Their first Annual Catalogue.
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OF WISCONSIN. — Annual Address by Hon. Charles I. Walker, of Detroit, 1871.
- THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. — Thirty-fifth Annual Report.
- THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. — Their Transactions, Vol. II., Part I.
- THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Historical Collections, Vol. X., Parts II. and III.; Bulletin, Vol. 1, Nos. 2 and 4, Vol. 2, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9; and "To-day," a paper printed during the fair of the Essex Institute and Oratorio Society, 1870.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Transactions, Vol. XIV., Parts I. and II.; and Proceedings, Nos. 84 and 85.
- THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, Vol. II.
- THE SILAS BRONSON LIBRARY, Waterbury, Conn. — Catalogue of the Library, 1870.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, of Boston. — Index to the Catalogue of Books, 1869.
- MR. E. STEIGER, New York. — "Literarischer Monatsbericht," Vol. 2, Nos. 5 and 6.
- J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. — Their Monthly Bulletin.
- CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., New York. — "The Book Buyer."
- THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY. — Advocate of Peace, October, 1870, to January, 1871.
- THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Their Journal as issued.
- PROPRIETOR OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM. — Two sets of the paper for 1870.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — Nos. 15 and 16 of their Bulletin.

PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.

— Their papers as issued.

PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY. — Their paper as issued.

PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper as issued.

PROPRIETORS OF THE BOSTON SEMI-WEEKLY ADVERTISER. — Their paper as issued.

PROPRIETOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — The paper as issued.

PROPRIETOR OF THE GOLDEN AGE. — The paper as issued.

A P P E N D I X .

THE following statement of some of the points in Dr. Jarvis's paper on immigration was not received in season to print with the account of proceedings at the meeting. The Committee of Publication were expecting an abstract of the paper to be printed by itself; but are disappointed in this anticipation in consequence of a proposed publication of the entire article elsewhere.

No official notice was taken nor record made of the number of foreigners who came to the United States, previous to October 1, 1819. From that time, the law of Congress required, that all who landed at the sea and lake ports should be entered at the custom houses and reported to the government.

The numbers of those who arrived, previous to October 1, 1819, have been very variously estimated by different writers.

The numbers reported by the custom house officers are undoubtedly correct as far as they go; but they include only those who came by sea and by lake. Besides these, there were others who came by land across the northern and north eastern border from the British Provinces. Of these the Government took no notice, and they were not reported. In some instances, in the early stages of the law, passengers escaped the notice of the custom house officers, or these officials neglected to report them.

The numbers of these immigrants who were not officially reported, since 1819, have also been matters of various estimate.

Dr. Jarvis had examined all the accessible authorities on this subject, the British emigration reports from 1815 to 1868, the Canadian immigration reports, and those of the United States from 1820, the statements of the number of foreigners living in Canada and the other British North American provinces, at the time of their several censuses. From these examinations and comparisons, Dr. J. concluded that Seybert was correct in supposing that 120,000 immigrants came between 1790 and 1810, and that Prof. Tucker was correct in supposing that 50,000 came in the period 1790 to 1800, 70,000 between 1800 and 1810, and 114,000 in the next decade, 1810 to 1820.

The numbers of the natives of Great Britain, Ireland and other European countries, who emigrated to the British North American provinces, exceeded the numbers of these people who appeared, from time to time, in the several censuses of these colonies, together with the probable number who had died. This excess is supposed to have come to the United States.

The number of natives of the British Provinces found in the United States in 1850 and 1860 were in excess of those who were stated, by the immigration reports, to have arrived previous to those enumerations, together with those who had died, in the interval between their arrival and the censuses.

The Europeans and British provincials, who came across the border, through and from Canada and New Brunswick,

from 1816 to June 1, 1860, amounted to 395,127, according to Dr. Jarvis' calculations.

The three classes of immigrants were :

1. Those who arrived previous to October 1, 1819, estimated.

2. Those who came across the border, unknown to custom house officers, but calculated.

3. Those who entered at the custom houses and were reported to the Government. The whole amounted to 2,827,273, at the time of the seventh census, June 1, 1850, and to 5,593,768 at the date of the eighth census, in 1860.

Deducting from these the number of probable deaths, at the annual rate of 2.4 per cent. from 1790 to 1850, and 2.625 per cent. from 1850 to 1860, leaves the number of foreigners 2,240,536 found by the census in 1850, and 4,136,175 found in 1860, within a small fraction.

Another point considered was the theory that American families are running out, by a gradual diminution of the number of children, and that more prolific foreign families are taking their place. This view Dr. Jarvis aimed to refute.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

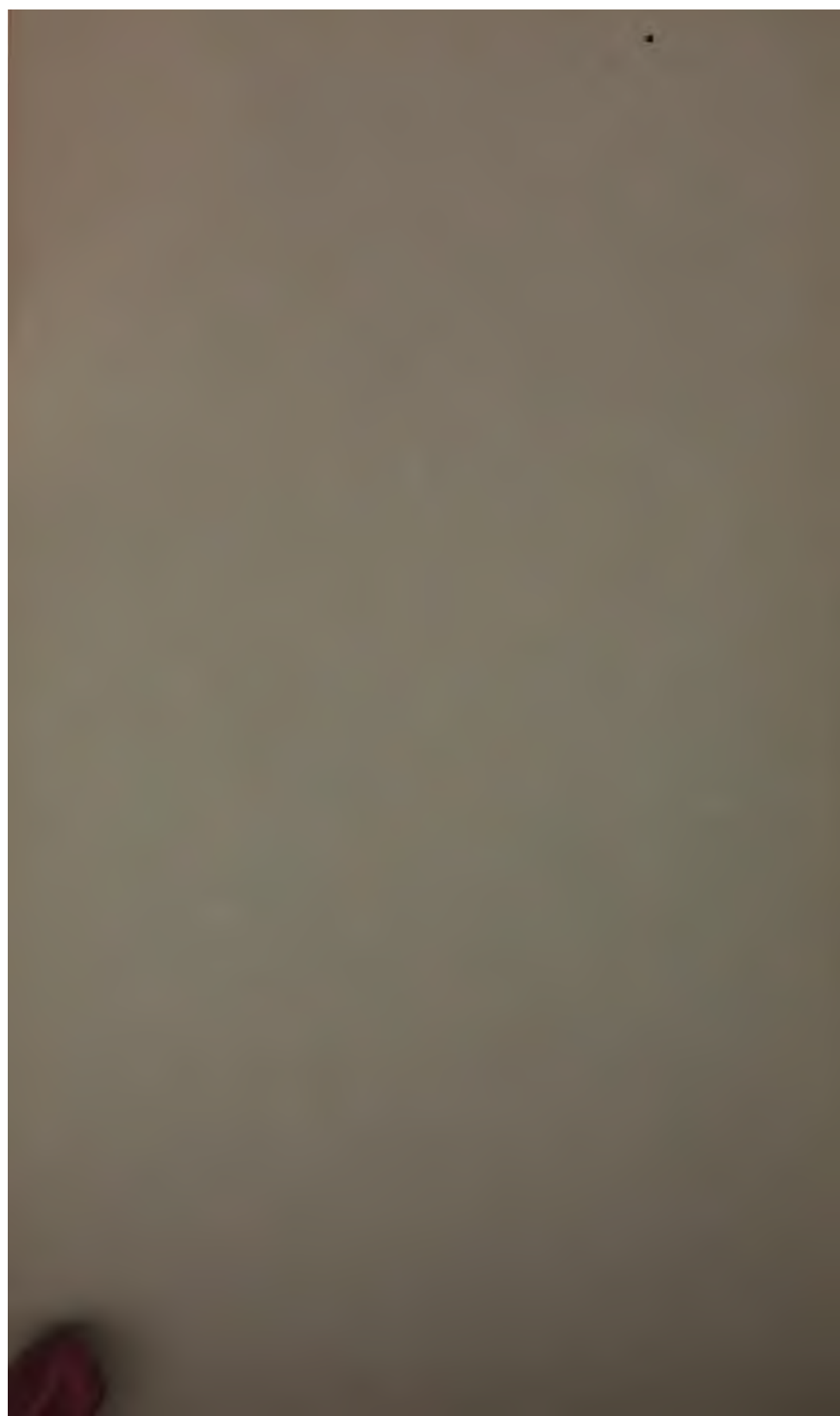
AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER.

OCTOBER 21, 1871.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON.
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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCT. 21, 1871, AT THE LIBRARY OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, President, in the chair.

The Records of the last Meeting were read and accepted.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE read the report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, submitted their annual reports.

On motion of Hon. B. F. THOMAS, these reports were accepted, and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

After the reading of the report of the Council, Rev. R. C. WATERSTON, of Boston, offered some suggestions in regard to the failure of Sir Francis Drake to discover the Bay of San Francisco. There were several reasons why Drake should fail to pass the Golden Gate and enter that magnificent bay. It could not readily be discovered by one sailing by at some distance from the coast; and, as the wind much of the time blows towards the coast, navigation is precarious, and navigators would avoid approaching the coast too nearly without special reason for doing so. At any rate, it is now generally thought that Drake did not enter the bay of San Francisco.

Hon. CHARLES SUMNER suggested, that even had Sir

Francis discovered the mouth of the bay, he might well have been restrained from entering it, by considerations of delicacy towards the Spanish Government, who claimed jurisdiction there.

Mr. Sumner then spoke of the idea suggested in the report of the Council, that the Pacific would be our Mediterranean sea, and said the unity of European capital renders it doubtful if the United States ever regains its power on the Atlantic ocean, and it must improve its opportunity in the other direction. The Pacific is essentially ours, and it is of vast importance that all our rights there be jealously guarded and defended. In this connection, he said he anticipated a time when the Sandwich Islands will become a part of the jurisdiction of this country, as our half-way-house to China and Japan. In this view, the Pacific, he said, is to be to us the great middle sea of the world. He spoke also of the high degree of intelligence of the Japanese, and the ease and industry with which they apply themselves to the acquisition of knowledge, and of the great importance of developing fully our international relations with that people. He also called attention to Furlani's map, of 1574, on which Behring's straits, the succession of Islands, and the outline of the coast in that vicinity, are quite correctly delineated, while we have no history of these straits earlier than 1727, the year of Behring's discovery.

Mr. DEANE, of Cambridge, said he was not sure that Drake would be deterred from entering San Francisco Bay even if he were certain that the Spaniards had explored so far north at that time. But wherever the "convenient and fit harbour" may have been which Drake

entered, in latitude 38° or $38^{\circ} 30'$, he there took possession of the coast in the name of her Majesty, and called it "New Albion." He had entered the Pacific through the straits of Magellan, and, pursuing his way north, pillaged the Spanish ships moored in the harbors along the coast. Fearing to return the way he came, with his large treasure, he still went north, in hopes of finding a passage through to the Atlantic, corresponding to that by which he came. Disappointed here, he finally struck across the Pacific, and completed the circumnavigation of the globe. Arriving in England in 1580, the Spanish minister (as England and Spain were then at peace), protested against the conduct of Drake. He demanded that Drake's ill-gotten treasure should be restored; and he contended likewise that the English were infringing the Spanish claim, in sailing in those seas. The English government, in their answer to the latter claim, made this important declaration, namely, that they could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by donation from the pope, or from their having touched here and there upon those coasts, built cottages, and given names to a few places; that this, by the Law of Nations, could not hinder other princes from freely navigating those seas, and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit; that prescription without possession, availed nothing. A full account of this may be seen in Camden's History of Queen Elizabeth. Whether England, in her intercourse with other nations has always been true to the important principle here declared, may be seriously questioned.*

* The passage from Camden referred to by Mr. Deane is as follows:—"Don Bernardine de Mendoza, the Spaniard's Embassador in England, storming

Mr. HAVEN called attention to a correspondence he had recently had with Mr. Horace Davis, a member of this Society, on the subject of the discovery of a supposed wrecked ship on the desert of California. This was alleged to have been seen in the Colorado Desert, forty miles north of Fort Yuma, in a spot which is watery and inaccessible, at least during portions of the year. A party which went out for the purpose of solving the mystery, could approach the object no nearer than four miles, on account of the mud. The subject has been discussed in the newspapers and by the California Academy of Science. Mr. Davis forwarded extracts from these discussions, and in his last letter gave the result of a well prepared expedition to the

heret, very earnestly demanded the goods again of the Queen, complaining of the English for sailing in the Indian Ocean; to whom this answer was given: That the Spaniards, by their hard dealing with the English, whom they had prohibited commerce, contrary to the Law of Nations, had drawn these mischiefs upon themselves. That Drake should be forthcoming to answer according to law, if he were convicted by good evidence and testimony to have committed anything against Law and Right. That those Goods were laid by purposely that satisfaction might be made to the Spaniard, though the Queen had spent a greater summe of money than Drake had brought in against those rebels whom the Spaniard had raised and encouraged against her, both in Ireland and England. Moreover, she understood not why her or any other Prince's subjects should be debarred from the Indies, which she could not persuade herself the Spaniard had any just title to, by the Bishop of Rome's Donation, (in whom she acknowledged no prerogative, much less authority, in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon Princes which owed him no obedience or observance, or as it were to infeoffe the Spaniard in that new world, and invest him with the possession thereof, nor yet by any other claim, than as they had touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given names to a river or a cape; which things cannot entitle them to a propriety. So that this donation of that which is another man's, which is of no validity in law, and this imaginary propriety, cannot hinder other Princes from trading into those countreys, and, without breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards inhabit not (forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is little worth), neither from freely navigating that vast ocean, seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all. Neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons; forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custome permitteth any possession thereof."—(*Camden's History of England. English translation, London, 1688, p. 255.*)

locality. The appearance of a ship had proved to be an ocular deception.

Hon. JOHN D. BALDWIN, of Worcester, said :

MR. PRESIDENT :—I have listened with much interest to the paper read by Mr. Hale, and, also, to the remarks on that part of it to which attention has been called by the several speakers. I heard with special satisfaction the suggestion that measures should be taken to secure such communication with Japan as would make important additions to our knowledge of that part of the world. It seems to me very desirable, also, to secure similar communication with all the more important points in the island world of the Pacific. The discovery of the Pacific Ocean is so intimately connected with the discovery of America, that we may properly associate inquiries concerning the ethnology and archæology of this continent with those relating to the Pacific world. I say *archæology*, for the Pacific Islands have their archæology, their antiquities, which suggest an ancient history of that part of the globe, concerning which we have no definite knowledge, and of which nothing remains save a few suggestive traces.

In every part of that widely extended island world, from the Marquesas Islands, at the east, to the Ladrões, at the west, there are very noticeable ruins which are monuments of a higher condition of life than that now prevalent among its inhabitants. Some of them have been observed by explorers; but they are little known, and their significance has never been carefully considered. An educated and very intelligent gentleman, who has resided many years on one of the Pacific Islands and made extensive voyages among the others, says to me in a letter, enclosing some account of archæological explorations in the Pacific: "These researches are not very minute, but they will indicate that there is a vast field ready for exploration, in the Pacific, as well as in Central America and Egypt." A correspondent at Sydney speaks in a similar strain of the Pacific Island antiquities; and I have received from Sydney, drawings of some of these ruins which are unknown to archæologists. They were made by an intelligent English shipmaster, who has passed much of his life among these islands. In this connection, it is very suggestive that dialects of

the Malay language are found everywhere among the islands of the Pacific world, having been traced as far in this direction as Easter Island. We need to know the ancient history of Polynesia to understand clearly how this speech was so diffused as to become established in every part of it. Probably its ancient history would include some chapters in the history of that great Malayan empire, which El Masudi described, a thousand years ago, and which the Portuguese found in the last age of its decline, when they first sailed to India.

The modern history of the Pacific now begins; but it has had another history which preceded our discovery of that ocean. The prominence of the Malays in that earlier history is indicated, not only by traces of the wide extent of their enterprise and influence, but also by the natural superiority of this race to all others in Polynesia and Eastern Asia. It is their Malay blood which makes the Japanese so superior to the Chinese. But this subject furnishes material for an extended discussion, which would be out of place in seconding the motion to accept and refer these reports.

The Society then proceeded to ballot for President, and Rev. GEORGE S. PAINE and EDWARD L. DAVIS, Esq., were appointed a committee to receive, sort and count the ballots.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY was unanimously elected.

A committee, consisting of JUDGE THOMAS, COL. DAVIS, and Hon. E. TORREY, was appointed to prepare a list of Vice-Presidents, Councillors, and other Officers, for the consideration of the Society.

The following list having been reported, was unanimously adopted by a yea and nay vote.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. BENJAMIN F. THOMAS, LL.D., Boston,
JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York.

Council.

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester,
 HON. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D., Boston,
 CHARLES FOLSOM, Esq., Cambridge,
 SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester,
 REV. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston,
 JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., Worcester,
 CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge,
 REV. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester,
 HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, Charlestown,
 HON. HENRY CHAPIN, Worcester.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D., Boston.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.

Committee of Publication.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Worcester.
 REV. EDWARD E. HALE, Boston.
 CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Cambridge.

Auditors.

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., Worcester,
 HON. EBENEZER TORREY, Fitchburg.

The President then read the following letter from Hon. Robert C. Winthrop :—

BROOKLINE, 12th October, 1871.

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY,

Prest. Am. Antiq. Society.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I regret sincerely that I am obliged to go to New York next week, and shall thus be prevented from attending the annual meeting of the Antiquarian Society.

I did not fail to write to a friend in Rome, many months ago, agreeably to your request, in the hope of obtaining for the Society some account of the interesting discoveries which have been made by the recent explorations in and about the eternal city. I regret to say that my success has not yet answered your expectations or my own. I am able, however, to send you, for the Society's library, three pamphlets, which have been kindly procured for me by my friend and relative, Mr. J. Clinton Hooker, the banker, at Rome.

The earliest in date is a Memoir of the Monuments and other antiquities discovered at Ostium, by Visconti, one of our foreign members, who has now the title of the Baron Visconti.

The second, in several parts, is a description of some of the recent discoveries in Rome, by Signor Radolfo A Lanciani.

The third is a Memoir of the excavations of the "Terme di Novato," and other places in Rome, by Signor Angelo Pellegrini, published during the last year.

They are all in the Italian language, and require more careful study than I have been able to give them, during the two or three days since they reached me, in order to judge of their contents.

None of them embrace the most recent and most interesting discoveries, of which we had accounts in the newspapers a few months ago, and of which you were so anxious to procure descriptions. Should I receive these latter descriptions in reply to my request, I shall gladly communicate them to you hereafter. Meantime, believe me, with best wishes for the Society and great regard for its President,

Your friend and servant,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

The President said, in explanation of this letter, that a few days before the first of February last, a tomb was found in excavating near the Porto Salaria, in Rome, which had an alto relievo of a boy, with one hand raised, as in declamation, and holding a book in the other hand, and an inscription, stating that in the 94th year of the christian era Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, aged eleven years, five months, contended for the prize of poetry with fifty-two professed Greek poets, and obtained the honor; and to remove suspicion of his honesty and of his being assisted, he gave also extemporaneous poetry. It was no small achievement to obtain such a prize in the days when Juvenal, Martial, Tacitus and the younger Pliny lived and wrote. Baron Visconti, who has cordially accepted membership in this Society, had charge of these excavations, and has expressed the opinion that this archæological discovery is one of the most important and beautiful of our epoch. And he adds that this happy discovery has brought back from unmerited oblivion the noble memory of this illustrious boy, who was the predecessor of Petrarch and Tasso, in receiving the poetical crown at the capital. By it we see that at the Agone Capitolini was repeated the custom of the solemn crowning of poets on this famous hill.

This interesting incident was the occasion, but not the principal object, of this attempt to obtain a communication from Baron Visconti, who has made himself illustrious, by his zeal and good judgment in bringing to light the marvels of the buried history of Rome, not less than by his learning. Without expecting from him any details, it would be most desirable to enrich the publications of this Society

with a statement of his opinion of what we have had and what we may hope from this source.

The following letter to the President, from Prof. E. Salisbury, was also read :

MY DEAR SIR : In compliance with your suggestion, that, while in London, on my visit to England, I should endeavor to obtain a copy of the *Spectator*, as originally published, and report upon the form in which it appeared, as to paper, typography, and so forth, I applied to a book collector, and gave him a standing order by which I hope in time to be able to present a copy of the original edition to the library of the American Antiquarian Society. But, meanwhile, I send you the result of my examination of the only copy preserved in the British Museum, purchased so late as November, 1850, of which the advertisement was as follows : "*Spectator* ; the original edition published in *Daily Papers*, No. 1 to 555 inclusive ; vol. 1 to 7 complete, with vol. 8, several papers of which are deficient, the whole bound in one vol., 1711-14."

1. TYPOGRAPHY AND PAPER.

Each day's issue is a single folio leaf of rather thin but by no means coarse paper, though some numbers are on coarser paper than others. The printing is in double columns. The type used for all but advertisements is small pica leaded, with clear imprint ; that of the advertisements is brevier, less clear. In some later numbers, the leading is omitted, and smaller type is substituted for the small pica. The length of the printed page is not uniform, but varies from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to nearly 13 inches, (some leaves are doubled up in the binding of the volume examined). The width, including both columns, is $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The width of the margin could not be determined, on account of the binder's trimming.

2. EDITING AND PUBLICATION.

Each number up to 555 is marked by a Roman numeral, the later ones by Arabic numerals, with the month, day, and year added. The numbers came out from the first on each week day,

regularly, until Saturday, Dec. 6, 1712, after which there was an intermission till Friday, June 18, 1714, when the eighth volume was begun with number 556, "to be continued every Monday, Wednesday and Friday," and, accordingly, in number 557, after the motto, the following: "From Friday, June 18th, to Monday, June 21st." In later numbers, the year, month, and day of the week of each are simply given as at first. The earliest reference to any putting of numbers together to form sets, is in number 85, for June 7, 1711, where we read: "Compleat Setts of this Paper for the Month of May are to be sold by Mr. Graves in St. James Street, and Mrs. Baldwin in Warwick Lane, where also may be had those for the Months of March and April." In Nos. 247 and 248, for Dec. 13 and 14, 1711, appears this advertisement: "There is (sic) now printing by subscription two volumes of the Spectator on a large character in octavo; the price of the two volumes, well bound and gilt, two guineas. Those who are inclined to subscribe, are desired to make their payments to J. Tonson, bookseller, in the Strand; the books being so near finished, they will certainly be ready for subscribers before Christmas next."

The first number marked as belonging to a volume is 556, which is printed "Vol. VIII;" and this designation is continued to the end of the series. In the previous number Steele had said: "All the members of the imaginary society which was described in my first papers, having disappeared one after another, it is high time for the Spectator himself to go off the stage," &c. The continuation of the publication is ascribed by him to his bookseller, in No. 632, as follows; "The love of symmetry and order, which is natural to the mind of man, betrays him sometimes into very whimsical fancies. Several epic poets have religiously followed Virgil as to the number of his books. I mention these great examples in defence of my bookseller, who occasioned this eighth volume of the Spectator, because, as he said, he thought seven a very odd number." The 1st, 2d, and 4th volumes of a copy of the first collected edition of the Spectator, which once belonged to Lord Lansdowne, and now is in the British museum, were published in 1712; the 3d, 5th, 6th and 7th volumes in 1713; the 8th volume of the set, wanting in this copy, was published in 1715. On what principle the first seven volumes were made up, does not appear, for the division has no reference to the date of

the original issue; nor are there as many numbers in one volume as in another, although there are about eighty (the exact number included in the first volume) in each.

The earlier original Spectators all bore letter signatures; and, in the concluding number of the 7th vol., Steele explains them as marks of authorship; C, L, I, or O, indicating Addison's hand; T probably points to Ticknell of Queen's College, Oxford, as the author; and S is doubtless Steele's own mark. The Spectator was originally "printed for Samuel Buckley, at the Dolphin, in Little Britain, and sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick Lane." In No. 16, the following is added to the imprint:—"as also Charles Lillie, perfumer, at the corner of Beaufort Buildings, in the Strand," which thenceforward continues to appear in most of the numbers.

3. ADVERTISEMENTS.

Nearly one whole column of the second page of No. 1, is devoted to advertisements, which are eight in number, all of books on anatomy, political arithmetic, geography, migration of birds, civil government, religion, and right of election to parliament. In No. 2, there are no advertisements, but a notification where they are taken in. In No. 3, those of No. 1 reappear, with the exception of one for which a new one is substituted. In No. 4, there are eight new advertisements of books: the Art of English Poetry, Travels, Bible Commentary, Trader's Companion, Our Lord's Prayer, the Charge of Schism against Dissenters Discharged, Public Revenue. In No. 6, among the advertisements is an "admonition to the unbaptized;" and in No. 12 is advertised, as recently published, a book entitled: "The Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice." In No. 7 is advertised a work on the "doctrine of resistance to tyrants though natural princes," which may allude to the claims of the Pretender. In No. 10, we begin to find advertisements of quite another sort; for instance, of silk gowns, of "a very commodious House to be Lett," of "Plain Spanish Snuff, Light and Fine," of "deep, bright, and strong French Claret at 24s per dozen," of "Fine French Claret, neat and of a delicate flavour, at 24s a dozen, bottles and all;" also a notice that "a parcel of new Venetian Gowns, made up, will be to be seen next Wednesday." In No. 12, is advertised "The Monthly Weather Paper, being some Baroscopical Discoveries

from what part or parts of the Compass the Wind may be likely to blow, with what other Sorts and Alterations of the Weather may be expected every Day and Night in March 1710-11. Printed for A. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane;" a proof that there were professed weather prophets in England an hundred and sixty years ago.

At the end of No. 87 appears the following notification: "This is to give notice that the three criticks, who, last Sunday, settled the characters of my Lord Rochester and Boileau, in the yard of a Coffee House in Fuller's Rents, will meet, this next Sunday, at the same time and place, to finish the merits of several Dramatic Writers; and will also make an end of the nature of the True Sublime,"—a quite Addisonian hit at the settlement of questions of reason and sentiment by appeals to brute force. In No. 88 are theatrical advertisements; in 89, cosmetics; in 90, "eighty-six right Dutch Tables and Tea Tables finely painted, brought over from Amsterdam in Holland;" in No. 91, the loss of a snuff-box is advertised. In No. 377, for May 13, 1712, is advertised "The Effigie of His Highness, Prince Eugene of Savoy, after the only original Picture painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller,"—the prince being then on a mission to England, to endeavor to effect the terms of the peace which was signed, that year, at Utrecht. These few specimens of advertisements seemed worthy to be mentioned as illustrative of the times, and of the small beginnings of what now fill so many columns and pages of our daily papers.

I have thus, my dear Sir, executed to the best of my ability, the commission which you gave me, and shall be pleased if this statement proves of some little interest to my associates of the Antiquarian Society.

Respectfully yours,

E. E. SALISBURY.

NEW HAVEN, Oct. 19, 1871.

Having read the letter, the President spoke on the subject as follows:

"I will only add to the valuable letter of our associate, that so many objects of great historical importance have claimed the attention of members of this society that the

curiosities of antiquarian lore have ceased to be prominent among our acquisitions. The subject of Dr. Salisbury's letter has the most desirable qualities of an antiquarian treasure; in its rarity, inasmuch as some of our best scholars have no knowledge of its original form, and the British Museum did not obtain a copy until the year 1850; in its intrinsic value, as the most brilliant specimen of the literature of the time of Queen Anne; as the founder and the exemplar of a new vehicle of thought and discussion; and as the keynote of the sweetest music of the English tongue."

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR said he had been led, by his interest in the researches of our associate, Mr. Deane, to visit the burial place of Capt. John Smith, at St. Sepulchre's church, London, during the past summer. He found "on the south side of the Quire," the place stated in the edition of Stow's "Survey of London," published in 1633, two years after Smith's death, a grey stone which forms a part of the floor of a cross aisle which passes from side to side of the church, immediately in front of the front row of pews. This stone is about five feet in length. At the end which lies close to the pew is a rude carving of three human heads, undoubtedly representing the three Turks' heads of Smith's coat of arms. The inscription on the stone is illegible, though some traces of it are visible about two-thirds of the way down the stone. The letters are of a size which renders it nearly certain that the epitaph copied in the edition of Stow, in 1633, could not have been found on that stone. The clergyman of the church was present and had the floor cloth removed and the stone washed, and aided in the attempt to decipher the inscription. The church of St. Sepulchre's was destroyed by the

fire of 1666, with the exception of the tower and the beautiful entrance porch on the south side. In the edition of Stow above named, the inscription is spoken of as on a "table." It is quite possible that this denoted a raised monument, which would admit of an inscription on the sides and ends as well as the top, and that when this was injured by the fire, the stone which now remains, which formed a part of it, may have been laid in the new floor, on the same spot. The three heads on the stone and the correspondence of the place with that named in the "Survey," leave no doubt that this is the true spot of Smith's burial. It is understood that the records of the church were destroyed by the fire. Mr. Hoar further said it had occurred to him that it would be proper that this Society should cause the burial place of the distinguished founder of the oldest American State to be commemorated, either by causing the inscription to be recut, or, what would be much better, an enduring mural tablet, for which there is abundant room near by, placed on the wall of the church. Mr. Hoar moved that the Council be requested to consider the expediency of renewing the inscription on the present stone, or the erection of a mural tablet in the church.

Mr. DEANE, being appealed to, said he did not think he could throw any light on the subject introduced by Mr. Hoar. At the time of his visit to St. Sepulchre's, with his friend, Mr. Haven, a carpet of Kamptulicon covered the entire floor of the church, so that they could not see the stone said to be placed over the remains of Captain Smith. The versified inscription published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, referred to by Mr. Hoar, was copied precisely as printed in Stow's Survey of Lon-

don, issued in 1633, two years after Smith's death. The lines are there broken in two parts, thus :

“ Here lies one conquer'd
That hath conquer'd kings.”

In Strype's edition of Stow's "Survey," published in the last century, the inscription is printed at length, yet the verses are not broken as in the former mentioned instance, but are given thus :—

“ Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd kings.”

A reader might infer that Strype copied the inscription from the stone itself. Mr. Hoar is the better judge whether the stone which he saw is large enough to contain the verses in either form.

Mr. HALE asked if there was not a monument to the memory of Pocahontas, in Westminster Abbey. He had so understood.

Mr. DEANE thought not. Pocahontas, ("The Lady Rebecca," as she was called in England), had embarked at Gravesend on her return to Virginia. She died at Gravesend, and he believed she was buried in the church at that place. What is supposed to be a memorial of her in some form exists there; but, if intended for her, the name of her husband is wrongly spelled.*

*The church at Gravesend was destroyed by fire in 1727, and if any monument to the memory of Pocahontas was there it was then destroyed. In the Parish Register of Burials in the Parish of Gravesend, is the following :—

“ 1616.

“ March 21. Rebecca Wrothe, wyffe of Thomas Wrothe, gent. A Virginia Lady borne, was buried in the Chauncell.”

The name of her husband was John Rolfe. (See the Virginia Historical Register, Vol. II., pp. 188, 189.)

C. D.

Mr. Hoar's motion was then adopted.

The Council having recommended Prof. Edward Desor, of Switzerland, for membership of the Society, he was, by ballot, unanimously elected.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society has the honor to report, that, in the period since we have met, the Society has been prosperous, and has had a fair measure of success in its collections. The Librarian reports a considerable increase in books and pamphlets, of which his report gives the detail.

The increase of the Funds has been somewhat larger than the expenditure. Of the details of each, and of the investment the Treasurer's report will inform the Society.

The Society will be glad to learn that the new edition of Thomas's History of Printing is well advanced; a part of the material being in the hands of the printer. The Council have assigned the charge of it to a competent sub-committee.

We have lost, by death, one of our resident members, to whom the Society had more than once been indebted.

GEORGE SMITH BLAKE* was born in Worcester, on the

* He was son of Hon. Francis Blake, the distinguished advocate, of Worcester, by his wife, Elizabeth Augusta, daughter of Gardner Chandler, of Hardwick, Mass., by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Brigadier Timothy Ruggles, of that town. Gardner Chandler was son of Hon. John Chandler, of Worcester, by his wife, Mary Church.

William and Agnes Blake, of Little Baddow, County of Essex, England, who emigrated to America, and settled in Dorchester, Mass., were ancestors of Commodore Blake. Their son, Edward Blake, of Milton, married Patience Pope, and they were parents of Solomon Blake, of Boston, who married Abigail Arnold. Their son, Joseph Blake, married Mary Welland, and they were parents of Joseph Blake, of Boston and Hingham, who married Deborah Smith.

5th of March, 1802. He died in Longwood, near Boston, after an illness of only a few hours, on the 24th of June last. His remains were brought to Worcester for burial.

Mr. Blake entered the naval service of the United States when quite young, and ranked as Commodore at his death. When the rebellion broke out in 1861, he was at the head of the Naval School, at Annapolis. He removed with that School to Newport, R. I., and had charge of it for about ten years. In his administration of it, through a period so trying as that of the war, Commodore Blake earned and received the highest commendation from the Government.

While stationed at Newport he took occasion of his fortunate position to direct a careful examination, for the use of this Society, of the celebrated inscription on Dighton Rock. The copies of it which hang in this hall, were executed by Mr. Seager, at his request, for the Society. At his request, also, Rev. Mr. Hale, then chaplain in the Naval School, prepared a valuable monograph on the Rock and its history, which, with a very perfect photograph, Commodore Blake also presented to the Society. In his more distant service Commodore Blake had carefully kept our interests in mind.

Among the irreparable losses by the conflagration of Chi-

Joseph Blake and Deborah Smith were parents of Lieut. Joshua Blake, and of Hon. George Blake of Boston, of John Blake, of Brattleboro', Vt., and of Hon. Francis Blake, of Worcester, the father of Commodore George Smith Blake, the subject of this notice.

Through his grandmother, Deborah Smith, Commodore Blake was a descendant of the Pilgrims. Elizabeth, daughter of John Carver, the first governor of Plymouth Colony, married John Howland, of the May Flower. Their daughter, Hope, married John Chipman; their son, John Chipman, was father of Bertha Chipman, who married Samuel Smith, of Sandwich; and they were parents of this Deborah Smith, who became the grandmother of Commodore Blake.

ago, is the entire destruction of the admirable library and collection of our vigorous sister society, the Historical Society of Chicago. Fortunate, from the very first, in the skill and energy with which its operations were conducted the Society had made a collection of great value. It had erected a building convenient in every regard to students, well arranged also for lectures, and suitable for the exhibition of its valuable paintings. All these treasures have been destroyed in the terrible calamity of the 9th of October. We offer to our friends our hearty sympathy, and we beg all the friends of Historical research to assist them, as they shall enter again, after this discouragement, upon their duties.

The development which the last century has witnessed of our relations with the western shore of this continent has brought into the range of our historical inquiry the history of discovery in the Pacific Ocean, as a special subject for the study and interest of Americans. This ocean on the maps of the time of Columbus, was a narrow strait, not half the width of Cuba. That strait parted the new found land from Japan, the Cipango of Marco Polo. The wish was father to the representation. Voyage after voyage, and century after century, have widened that narrow strait by new degrees of longitude, till we now know that nearly half the circumference of the world parts these lands. But that discovery was not made of a sudden. It was the result of successive observations, each of which shocked in its turn the prejudices of the conservative map-makers. Even the voyages of Cook and Vancouver, and their comparatively accurate returns of longitude, left North America a bulky, portly figure, requiring a much

longer girdle than that which we have found sufficient for her waist, as if she were trying to rival the dimensions of her sister, Asia. It is only since the present century began that the Western longitudes of North America have been crowded far enough back upon the map, and that the Pacific takes its full proportions. The strait which to the earlier hopes of Columbus was some thirty miles across, extends in its widest measurement nearly one hundred and sixty degrees, almost one half of the circumference of the globe.

To present at once the steps of successive discovery by which this result has been attained in geography, to preserve, in a connected and comprehensive form, the "History of the Pacific Ocean and its Shores," is perhaps the most tempting work now open to the American Historian. The original discovery of the Ocean itself to the science of the western world, by Marco Polo, as he approached it from the west, by Balboa, Pizarro and Cortes, as they approached it from the east, involves the most interesting adventure.

The admirable edition of Marco Polo's travels, by Col. Yule, in its full illustrations and exhaustive criticisms, puts all his contributions to Geography in a light wholly new. It confirms at every point the suggestions of Mr. Stevens, alluded to in this Report. Col. Yule's book had not arrived in America when this report was prepared, or the author would gladly have drawn upon its vast store-house of information.

The voyages of unparalleled daring, by which Magelhaens and his successors at last proved that there was a Pacific Ocean, and that there were two continents, mark an epoch in the geography of the world. The ocean gained the name of the Pacific Ocean, but names are not worth much, and for

the first two centuries of its existence, such was the international law of Europe, that, though the world were at peace, the Pacific Ocean—whenever two ships met of rival nationalities—was the scene of war. The deeds of the buccaneers—their bold transfers from ocean to ocean of the scene of their exploits, always mysterious, and but scantily recorded—are now less known than ever. As the modern system of International Law began to check such havoc,—and around Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope, a legitimate commerce began to look into what men still called the South Sea—the history is none the less curious. To this period we owe Alexander Selkirk, the reputed double of Robinson Crusoe. The differences between Alexander Selkirk and Robinson Crusoe, are in fact well intimated by the distances between their homes; the first was left, at his own request, on Juan Fernandez, in the Pacific; the second was shipwrecked in a tempest, on an island in the Atlantic, “at the mouth of the great river Oronoko.”*

* No better illustration could be given of the recklessness, even of the better critics, than the elder D'Israeli's allusion to Alexander Selkirk and Robinson Crusoe. Speaking of Selkirk's original narrative, he says:

In this artless narrative we may discover more than the embryo of Robinson Crusoe. The first appearance of Selkirk, ‘a man clothed in goats' skins, who looked more wild than the first owners of them.’ The two huts he had built, one for dressing his victuals, the other to sleep in; his contrivance to get fire, by rubbing two pieces of pimento wood together; his distress for the want of bread and salt, till he came to relish his meat without either; his wearing out his shoes, till he grew so accustomed to be without them, that he could not for a long time afterwards, on his return home, use them without inconvenience; his bedstead of his own contriving, and his bed of goat skins; when his gunpowder failed, his teaching himself, by continual exercise, to run as swiftly as the goats; his falling from a precipice in catching hold of a goat, stunned and bruised, till coming to his senses, he found the goat dead under him; his taming kids to divert himself by dancing with them and his cats; his converting a nail into a needle; his sewing his goat skins with little thongs of the same; and when his knife was worn to the back, contriving to make blades out of some iron hoops.

With reference to this note it may be said, that Robinson Crusoe did not live

It may be worth asking in passing, whether Aladdin, of the wonderful lamp, the magician, who, by his wonders, wins the hand of the daughter of the Emperor of China, does not first appear in serious history as Ala-Eddin, a christian engineer, the companion of Marco Polo, who built the engines before which the Chinese cities of Fanchung and Siangyang fell. Romance and reality thus unite in the early chronicles of the history of the Pacific. The writer of this report called the attention of the Society some years since to the curious fact that Cortes and his companions took the name of California from the contemporary romance of Esplandian.

The limited extent of the legitimate commerce to the Pacific, after buccaneering was at an end, may be inferred from the fact that the celebrated "South Sea Company," which was entitled to a monopoly of the whole Pacific trade, considered that one ship annually was quite sufficient for it all. In fact it never did send out a ship a year during its adventurous existence.

The interest of the English races in the Pacific was greatly quickened by the celebrated voyages of Cook about a century ago. To the longitudes obtained by him, by Vancouver and their associates, we owe the more correct geographical placing on the map of the islands and the shores. And to the account given in their narratives of the exquisite climate, and the life supposed to be so simple

in two huts, did *not* dress his victuals in one and sleep in another, did *not* get fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood; made his own bread from English wheat, had no trouble for want of salt; made himself shoes, and never complains of their use; never used up his gunpowder, though he were careful of it; never fell down upon the goat he was pursuing; never danced with his kid; never made a knife of iron hoops.

of the Islanders, we owe the uprising of the Protestant church, first in England and afterwards in America, for the conversion of the Islanders. The history of the Pacific has no chapter more adventurous and interesting than that of its missions.

Almost immediately on Cook's return, the movements for colonization began, which have given to England another Empire in the great southern continent of Australia,—and in the islands of New Zealand. The first century even of our own history does not rival the rapid growth of these young communities.

As early as 1789, a gentleman from Cape Cod, returning from service in the East India Company, observed sperm whales in the neighborhood of Japan, and communicated the news, on his return, to some of the daring Nantucket whalers. The hint was enough for them, and another chapter of the history of the Pacific, with which we are specially interested, began with the triumphs of their daring in trying every region of its waters, from the southern to the northern ice. Our whalers have passed from inside Behring's Straits* and have tried the highest southern latitudes. When Mr. Burke said in the House of Commons, that they vexed both seas with their fisheries, he meant the Arctic and the Antarctic. They have since doubly justified his eloquence, by carrying their conquests over the Western Ocean as they had already done over the Eastern.†

* The writer little thought that a few weeks only before he read these lines, on the 14th of September, by far the larger part of this fleet in the Arctic Ocean had been, of necessity, abandoned by its crews. They arrived at the Sandwich Islands, to the number of twelve hundred men, in the few vessels which escaped, on the 23d and 24th of October; two and three days after this slight tribute to their daring had been read to the Antiquarian Society.

† Mr. Frederic C. Sanford, of Nantucket, the accomplished historian of the

Meanwhile the fur-trade had made our people familiar with the geography, even with the language of the people of the northwest coast. As early as 1774 Jonathan Carver,

great adventure which gives that island its renown, favors us with the following memoranda of the early Pacific and South Atlantic whale fishers:

The first whale ship that entered the Pacific was from England, in 1787. The vessel was sent by the colony of Nantucket whalers in England. Capt. Archetius Hammond was first officer of that ship, and struck the first sperm whale ever known to be taken in that Ocean. He afterwards sailed from London, in the ship *Cyrus*, which ship he gave up to Paul West, his second officer, in 1801, and West made a fortune in her, and left her to join his family in America, arriving home in 1813.

Capt. Hammond came home to Nantucket early, and died in 1830, aged 70 years. Capt. West died at the age of 83.

In 1791 our Nantucket people built and sent three new ships, with three old ones, into the Pacific Ocean, the first that ever went from the United States; and they all filled with oil, mostly sperm, and each ship obtained up to 1,500 bbls. The new ships were the *Beaver*, Paul Worth, the first to enter the Pacific and the first home; the *Washington*. George Bunker, who first hoisted the stars and stripes on that coast, at Callao, in Jan., 1792; the *Hector*, Thomas Brock; and of the old ships the *Favorite*, Obed Barnard; the *Warren*, Robert Meader; and the *Rebecca*, Seth Folger. As mentioned before, they were all successful. Some went again to the Pacific; the *Favorite* to Canton, China. It was the *Favorite*, Jonathan Paddock, which brought home to Nantucket two distinguished Chinese merchants, in 1808. They came again in one of our ships in 1814, and it was at this time I remember them in their rich costumes, cap, and red button upon the cap, marks of superior position in their own country. They were the guests of the owner of the ship, Paul Gardner, Esq.

The first voyage made across the Equator was made from here by Uriah Bunker, in the brig *Amazon*, arriving here, full of oil, 19th April, 1775, the day the battle of Lexington was fought. Then we had many ships cross the equator, and so out to Falkland Islands, and generally with marked success. I believe I gave you or let you read my papers on some of these voyages.

In 1770 our merchants sent to sea 135 vessels, 13 hands each; 4 West Indianmen, 12 hands each; 25 wood vessels, 4 hands each; 18 coasting vessels, 5 hands each; and 15 London packets, 11 hands each. Making upwards of twenty-two hundred and fifty men. Some of the captains I can remember, and glorious men they were, stout and tall in build, with a splendid address, and some of them with large brains, almost equal to Franklin. Benj. Hussey was one of them, who, after plowing the ocean many years, was a victim to Napoleon I., who confiscated his property in Dunkirk, France. When Napoleon fell, in 1815, Capt. Hussey took passage in the *Archimedes*, (whaler) Capt. James Bunker, and arrived in France in 1817. He secured some of his property from the Government, bought a ship and fitted out to Greenland, where he had previously been whaling; and when his ship was amongst the ice, he was so injured by the vessel's tiller striking him, that he died soon after-

of Stillwater, New York,* an officer of the royal army, who had personally explored the lake region as far as Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi, in publishing in London his narrative of that journey, gives a sketch of a plan for follow-

wards, 80 years and five months old! If you can equal this among any of the old sea dogs, let me know it.

I find from my old journals, that he was at the Falkland Islands in January, 1786, in Mr. Rotch's ship *States*, which returned to London, England, as did ship *Canton*, James Whippers, Esq., and the renowned *Maria*, Capt. William Moores, which you have read from those old Nantucket papers you saw here.

* Not Stillwater, Connecticut, as every dictionary, encyclopædia and biography has it. There is no such place.

If the geography of any point in America had been known to the English writers, after 1777, one would have said it would have been Stillwater in New York; where Carver was in fact, born. We are favored with a note on the errors in his biography, by our associate, Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, which may perhaps correct a few sets of stereotype plates. The note on Carver's life in the *New American Cyclopædia*, says he crossed to the Pacific Ocean, an entirely incorrect statement. He went to the head of Lake Superior, and never pretended that he had gone to the Pacific.

"Carver was born in Stillwater, N. Y., if his word, or his widow's, is to be trusted. All published accounts of him, since 1800, have been made up from the sketch by Dr. Lettsom, prefixed to the London edition of the *Travels*, published in 1781, the year after Carver's death. The substance of this biographical sketch is in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 51, (1781) pp. 324, 326. He is there said to have been 'born in 1732, at Stillwater, (*sic*) the American Caudium, since rendered famous by the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne's army;' and to have 'purchased in 1750, an ensigncy in the *Connecticut Regiment*'—which is a mistake of course. According to this statement, Carver's 'grandfather, William Joseph, of Wigan, in Lancashire, a captain in King William's army, was rewarded for his services with the government of Connecticut in New England, in which province our author was born in 1732;' &c. as above.

It is amusing to follow the blunder of Carver's first biographer through the biographical dictionaries and encyclopædias. Chalmers relied on the *Gentleman's Magazine*, l. c. Rose and Gorton give mere abridgments of Chalmers' articles,—one says, born 'at Stillwater, in Connecticut,' the other 'in Connecticut.' The old *Encyclopædia Americana*, 'in Connecticut.' Appleton's, as you know, 'in Stillwater, Conn.' The new *Biographie Générale* copies the mistake. So did Sparks, in Franklin's works, vii. 438, note, and so on.

Yours truly,

J. H. TRUMBULL."

Mr. Allibone says that it was owing to Dr. Lettsom's account of Carver's death in poverty that the "Literary Fund" was established in London. The *Encyclopædia Americana* makes him a lottery clerk, in Boston, a statement which is wholly unfounded.

ing up the Missouri, going down the river Oregon to the Pacific, for which he and Colonel Rogers, with Richard Whitworth, were ready, when the outbreak of the revolution prevented.

But in 1793, Alexander Mackenzie, in the service of the Montreal Fur Company, reached the Pacific by land, July 22d, at a point discovered by Vancouver, from the ocean, a few weeks earlier. This appears to have been the first discovery of the Pacific, by any land traveller, who had crossed the continent in such high Northern latitudes. Mackenzie's discovery did much to confirm the view which Cook had expressed that the coast of America extended to Behring's Straits, and that the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca would be proved to have no existence.

So soon as President Jefferson had concluded the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, he appointed his private secretary, Capt. Meriwether Lewis, to make such an exploration, in company with Capt. William Clarke. At the end of two years from Washington they reached the head of the Missouri; they spent their third winter at the mouth of the Columbia River. A single year was enough for their return, and by the middle of February, 1807, they reached Washington, from which they had been absent nearly four years. The journey from St. Louis to Washington occupied nearly five months. This was the first discovery of the Pacific, by land travellers, within the territory of the United States.

The United States has always claimed that it held some rights by discovery to its territories on the Pacific. The purchase of Louisiana had made the expedition of Lewis and Clarke necessary. The government has followed it up

from that time to this, by frequent expeditions of discovery.

As the mysteries of the Pacific were thus removed, that which surrounded Japan was the only one left to our own generation. The diplomacy of this generation, and the intelligence and courage of the Japanese nation and their accomplished rulers, have removed the last veil which shrouded this history.

In the course of five hundred years, in which the shores of the Pacific have been opened to the world of literature and history, no passage has been more remarkable than the course of events by which the rulers of Japan have chosen to place her far forward among the civilized nations. It cannot be many years before it will be our duty and pleasure to admit among our corresponding members some of the noble Japanese gentlemen, who are devoting themselves with such energy and integrity to the welfare of their own nation, and to her close intimacy with the rest of the world.

It is certainly not the intention of the Council, and least of all of the member who is their spokesman on this occasion, to detain the Society now, by any attempt to illustrate in detail those points in the History of the Pacific Ocean which relate most closely to the History of America, for the study and elucidation of which our Society exists. The catholic custom of our semi-annual meeting will, however, permit a reference to one or two, to which recent events have in one or another way drawn attention.

I. A recent writer of distinction, speaks of Hernando Cortes as the European discoverer of the South Sea. The error is frequent. It passed into familiar literature in the lines, now celebrated, of Mr. Keats,

“ Or like stout Cortes, when with eagle eyes
 He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
 Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
 Silent upon a peak in Darien.”

Cortes has too many laurels connected with the Pacific to need any borrowed plumes. He devoted the close of his life to its exploration. He was the discoverer of California; but he did not discover the South Sea. That had been discovered as early as 1513, on the 23d of September, by Balboa—a young officer of whom Spain was not worthy—the governor for the time of the station at Belem, or Bethlehem, on the north side of the Isthmus. If it is remembered that the line of the centre of the Isthmus of Panama does not run north and south, as the general line of the west coast of the continent does, but rather, that, in passing from North to South America, the Isthmus extends in a somewhat northeasterly direction—it will be understood how the Pacific Ocean is, to one standing on the Isthmus, the *South* Sea. The Indians had told Balboa of the Sea and of the route thither. Under their guidance he made the journey. It occupies on our railway two hours, it cost him three weeks' struggle through the wilderness. “ At last, about two o'clock in the morning, they emerged from the thick forest. The bold summit of the mountain alone remained to be ascended, and their Indian guides pointed to an eminence, from which they said the Southern Sea was visible. Upon this Balboa commanded his followers to halt, and that no man should stir from his place. Then, with a palpitating heart, he ascended to the bare mountain top. On reaching the summit the long-desired prospect burst upon his view. Below him extended a vast chaos of rock and forest, and green savannahs, and wander-

ing streams, while at a distance the waters of the promised ocean glittered in the morning sun.

At this glorious prospect Balboa sank upon his knees and poured out thanks to God that he was the first European to whom it was given to make that great discovery. He then called his people to ascend. "Behold, my friends," said he, "that glorious sight which we have so much desired. Let us give thanks to God that he has granted us this great honor and advantage. * * *." The Spaniards answered this speech by promising to follow him to the death. Among them was a priest, who lifted up his voice and chanted *Te Deum Laudamus*. The rest kneeling down, joined in the strain with pious enthusiasm.

I cite Mr. Irving's well chosen language, as he collects the materials from the original authorities. These are the only authorities for saying that the South Sea was discovered by

stout Cortes
Silent upon a peak in Darien.

Cortes was never in Darien in his life; so that he was never silent there. Balboa, when he arrived on the peak of Darien, fell upon his knees, and he and his men poured out their gratitude in spoken prayer. Cortes took possession of the same sea, nine years after, in the name of the Emperor, a thousand miles north of the Isthmus.

Under the direction of the United States Government, a survey has been made of the Isthmus in the last summer, by Commander Selfridge, resulting in a more full determination of the altitudes above the sea of the several valleys than we have had heretofore. A similar examination has been made of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, by Capt.

Shufeldt, where Cortes actually established a passage from sea to sea, by which his heavy guns were carried from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

II. Our associate, Mr. Henry Stevens, in a brief but very valuable volume on the early maps of America, has made the suggestion that the coast line of North America, on the early maps, a line which has always been a subject of curiosity among intelligent historians, was drawn in, not from any surveys or reports of seamen, who had passed along the coast, but from the supposed coast line of Asia, which North America was then supposed to be. It is to be regretted that Mr. Stevens did not illustrate this valuable suggestion even more fully.

The Spanish navigators very early completed the line of the Gulf of Mexico and of Florida. On the north, Cabot had laid in the lines of the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the eastern parts of New Brunswick, Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. On the early maps these appear with their discoverers' names. But who drew the line between? If any one drew it who knew the facts, why is there no appearance of such a peninsula as Cape Cod, of such bays as Delaware and Chesapeake Bay, of such an island as Long Island? It has ever been urged among the arguments for Cabot's discovery of our southern sea board, that somebody must have laid down the line very early, because it was so early on the maps. But, certainly, if Cabot put it down, it is very little to his credit that he put it down so badly as to leave out every distinctive characteristic.

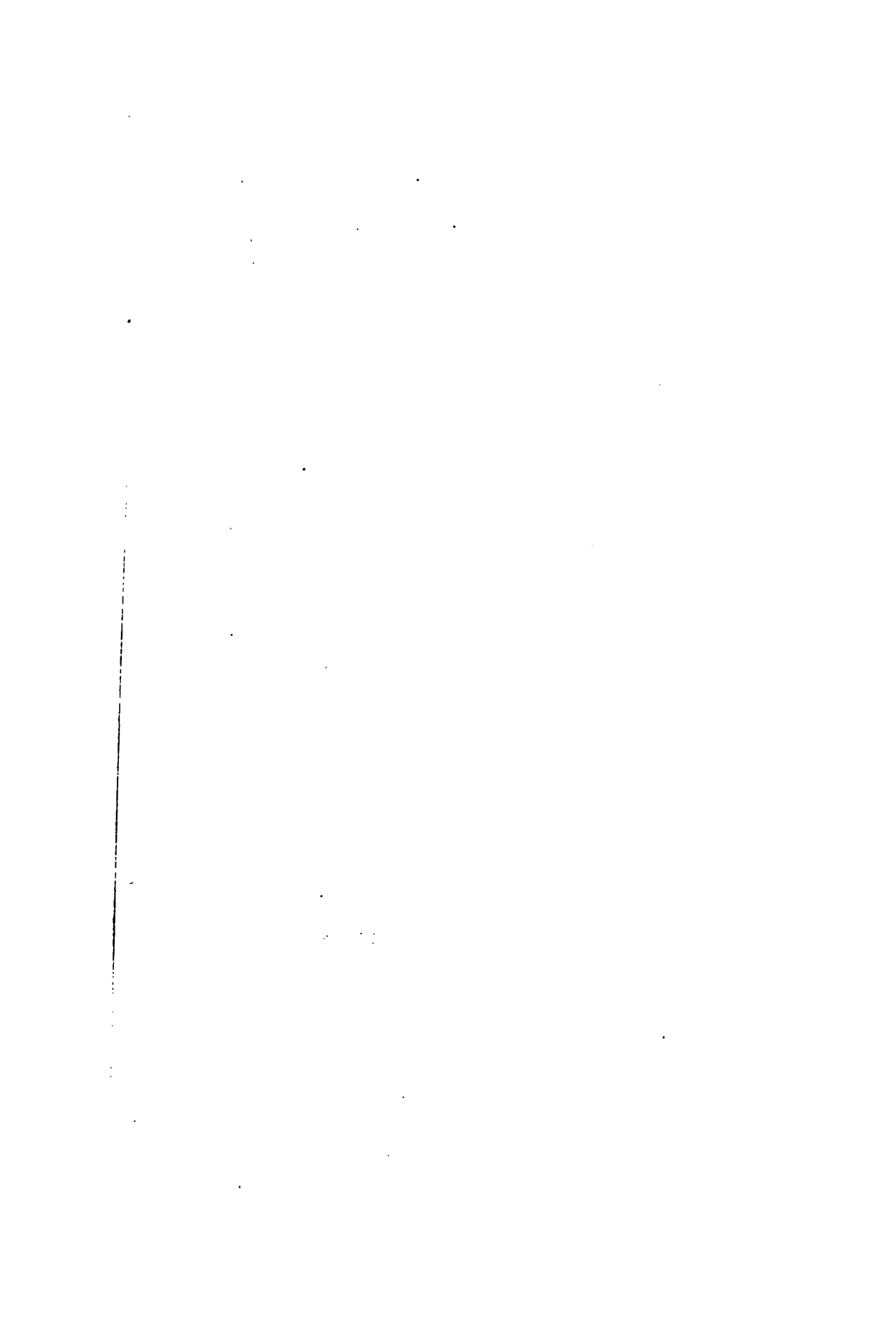
In answer to the question "Who had seen it?" Mr. Stevens says substantially, "nobody had seen it." But on the supposition that this was Asia, that they were at work

- upon the coast line of Asia, as they had it in their imperfect maps, the gap between Florida and Nova Scotia was filled.

It is a very curious fact in reference to this suggestion, that if the geographers had known the true coast line of Asia, they would have made an approximation to the true coast line of America, much nearer than was reached for years. In fact they knew nothing of the true line of Asia. They had a very false coast line of Asia drawn in, after the hints given by Marco Polo, on his return from that coast in 1295. This coast line had suggestions of the truth, but it ran nearly north and south, instead of north east. All this was transferred to the map of America, and under this geographical impression the whole of South America was a prolongation of what we know as farther India, of the peninsula of Malacca, and after the voyager had rounded this peninsula, if he were sailing east from the Ganges or from Ceylon, it was supposed he would come on Cuba, Florida, and about the region where we are assembled now, one of the great cities of Cathay.

This view of Mr. Stevens accounts for the existence on the maps of a coast line long before Verazzano traced it in 1524. France afterward claimed the territory "under the pretext" as Mr. Bancroft puts it, of his discovery. If Mr. Stevens' view be correct, as it seems to be, and if the claim of discovery is never set aside by after events, we should, at this moment, be obliged to consider ourselves citizens of the undivided French republic.

The little sketches on the map annexed illustrate these observations. A is the coast line of America, as it exists in fact. B is the coast line of Asia, as it exists in fact, curiously like that of America, as will be seen. Corea makes



an excellent Florida, and there is a suggestion even, as Dr. Darwin might say, of the Bay of Fundy. C is the coast of Asia, on the same latitudes as laid in on Behem's globe, of the year 1492. It must be remembered that the effect of Mercator's projection is to exaggerate to the eye the difference between the lines on the ancient maps and the truth. They supposed, however, that the coast line of Asia, north of Corea, was somewhat to the west of north.

III. The history of our type of civilization has proceeded by successive stages—which are marked as the civilization of the valley of the Nile—that of the basin of the Aegean Sea, the civilization of the Mediterranean Sea, followed by the civilization of the Atlantic, the era to which we were born. Such a change as came upon the world when the Atlantic became the great Mediterranean sea of its largest commerce, may be foreshadowed as coming upon it in an era in which, for the first time, all the coasts of the Pacific shall devote themselves actively to foreign commerce, in which, in its turn, the Pacific Ocean will become the sea of the middle of the world.

The decisive event which has done most to bring on this new era was the discovery of gold in California. Of so little account was that region in the boyhood of most of us, that our first associations with it are those which we derived from the spirited narrative of the distinguished jurist, Mr. Dana, in his fascinating personal history, where we followed him step by step, almost, as he carried hides upon his back, down the beach at San Francisco. Of so little account did Mr. Prescott consider it, that in his life of Cortes, in 1843, he devoted but one page to the two years of suffering and effort in which Cortes explored California, and gave it to

an ungrateful world. He says his limits will not permit him to go into the details of an expedition which was attended with no important results, either to the projector or to science.

There is no more curious problem than the indifference with which California was treated, even by its discoverers. Gold was what they wanted, and gold was there. The marvel is that they could have missed it. Indeed they did not always miss it. In Sir Francis Drake's Journal of June 5, 1573, having touched at a bay under the latitude of 38° , and travelled inland, the record is, "the earth of this country seemed to promise very rich veins of gold and silver, there being hardly any digging without the ores of some of them."* Yet it would seem that no one dug for a century and a half.

In 1709, in Wordes Rogers' journal of his voyage, he says: "Our men told me they saw heavy shining stones ashore, which looked as if they came from some mine, but they did not inform me of this till we were at sea; otherwise I would have brought some of them to have tried what metal could have been extracted from them." He then encourages the newly formed South Sea Company to attempt a discovery beyond California. On such hints that Company acted, and sent out Shelvocke, who touched in San Francisco Bay in 1719. His record is this: "It is but natural for me to attempt some account of California, because great things have been expected from a perfect

* The Golden Gate, by which we enter the harbor of San Francisco, is a few miles south of the parallel of 38° . The geographers have given the name of Sir Francis Drake's bay to the bay north of the Golden Gate, immediately south of Pt. Reyes.

knowledge of its extent and boundaries; though, for my part, I must confess, I believe such a discovery would produce few real advantages. * * * The soil about Puerto Seguro, and very likely in most of the valleys, is a rich, black mould, which, as you turn it up fresh to the sun, appears as if intermixed with gold-dust; some of which we endeavored to wash and purify from the dirt; but, although we were a little prejudiced against the thoughts that it could be possible that this metal should be so promiscuously and universally mingled with common earth, yet we endeavored to cleanse and wash the earth from some of it; and the more we did the more it appeared like gold.

In order to be further satisfied, I brought away some of it — which we lost in our confusions at China. Be that as it will, it is very probable that this country abounds in metals of all sorts."

Here is one of the terrible contingencies of history which hang on a single "If." No better description than Shelvocke's could be given now of the gold-bearing black sand of the valley of the Sacramento. Shelvocke was the commissioned officer of the South Sea Company. He arrived home to find the fate of that company trembling in the balance. It had bid against the Bank of England for a great government loan and had won. In consequence its shares had risen from 310, on the seventh of April, to 500 on the 29th. In a month more they were at 550; — in three days more, June 2d, at 890, but the next day only at 640. Up and down was the fortune of all that summer. August 1, the quotation was 1000, Sept. 14, it was 400 only; and "South Sea Stock" has ever since been a disgrace and a

by-word. That is the history of the summer when Shelvocke came home. He had lost his chest of black earth with gold spangles "in our confusions in China." *If* he had not lost it! If four Pacific browned seamen had carried the stout chest up to some of the London goldsmiths, who, in those days, were London bankers! If it had been learned in an hour why this chest was so heavy! If it had been known on the Exchange that the South Sea Company held the monopoly to a hundred valleys full of this "black earth full of spangles," in a country of matchless climate, where no enemy questioned their proceeding! It may be doubted whether then the name of the South Sea Company might not have come down through history with all the honors of its great competitors!

But it was not so ordained. The Almighty kept California for his own purposes. It was when there was needed on the instant the creation of a Free State on the shore of the Pacific—to be held then and always in the interests of Freedom and Christianity—that he created that State in an instant, by the turning up of these neglected spangles to eager eyes.

IV. This paper has passed the proper length of such a communication. But the Council are unwilling to lose the opportunity of asking members of the Society to avail themselves of every occasion for opening a correspondence in our interest with Japan. When the history is written of the great revolution of which that country is now the scene, it will be the record of a noble, disinterested devotion, shown by its princes and noblemen, such as hardly has a rival. Their zeal for learning and science seems equal to

their desire for a better government. We have a right to look to their assistance, in the literary and scholarly work which shall eventually develope "The History of the Pacific Ocean and its Shores."

Respectfully submitted for the Council,

EDWARD E. HALE.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE Librarian begs leave to report, that the condition of things at the Library, and the manner and form of service and of progress there, vary little from those of previous semi-annual statements. To avoid a tedious sameness in these reports, it seems desirable, while seeking to convey the requisite general information, to dwell upon different particulars or topics at different times, either in turn or as circumstances may happen to suggest.

Attention is now asked to one of the departments of collection in which a good deal of aid may be afforded by members with very little trouble or cost to themselves.

Among the occupations of the Assistant Librarian, that of arranging and completing serial publications is of great and growing consequence.

There are very few persons who do not often find themselves in possession of odd volumes, or odd numbers, of *periodicals*, which they do not care to keep, and for which they have no use, unless it be to sell them for paper stock, at a nominal price per pound. Now these are just what we are seeking, far and near. We want them to make up sets for the Society's library, and for helping to make up sets for libraries with which we have relations of correspondence and exchange. They are to us of great literary importance, and of appreciable pecuniary value; and engross a liberal

share of time and attention among our objects of collection and preservation. Their pecuniary value to an institution like ours is not derived from any special price, or estimation in money, to which they are entitled, but from the interesting and significant fact that libraries are becoming, in a sense, commercial establishments, where operations of barter and traffic are conducted for maintaining the balance of supply and demand in literature throughout the country. The surplus at *A* goes to make up a deficiency in kind at *B*, and becomes a credit at *B* on which *A* may draw to cover its own similar or different wants. Thus literature, like money or merchandise, is enabled to find its level, and the resources of information tend to become equalized. This system of literary exchange is one of the practical inventions of our age, and is destined to acquire much greater extension and utility. We may see the day when literary clearing houses will be established at great business centres, where librarians will attend with memoranda of the stocks they want and the stocks they can furnish, with tolerable assurance of getting whatever they may chance to need, without the employment of that kind of currency which is often least at their command.

Of course these transactions are not limited to any particular class of publications; but it is the experience of almost every one that periodical publications, from their mode of issue, are specially liable to the condition of incompleteness, and afford an apt illustration of the advantage of an arrangement where *A* says to *B*, *C*, *D*, &c., I have duplicates of such and such magazines, and I want such and such numbers of the same or others; and *B*, *C*, *D*, &c., respond by similar declarations, till these superfluities* and

deficiencies are neutralized by a harmonious and mutually profitable adjustment.

Of the intrinsic value and importance of this class of publications to literature, science and history, to these jointly, and to each of them separately, much might be said in the way of both argument and illustration. Not to mention newspapers—and the various organs of political parties, religious denominations, and benevolent or reformatory associations, whose history can be traced nowhere else—magazines and reviews contain not unfrequently articles upon subjects in the different departments of knowledge, prepared by persons having peculiar opportunities of information, or other special qualifications for what they undertake; whose facts and opinions, original and limited to themselves it may be, come before the public in no other way. Nearly all of literature, science, and history, which never attains to the size and condition of a distinct work, or book by itself, must be looked for in the pages of magazines, reviews, or other periodical issues. Hence the importance of having these productions preserved and properly arranged for reference; and hence the inestimable value of such an index to periodical literature as has been prepared by that accomplished librarian, Mr. Poole.

The large proportion of chaff to the modicum of grain in most periodicals is no reason why the grain, if sound and nutritious, should not be saved, if it can be made accessible; while it explains the necessity of more care for its preservation than individuals are likely to exercise on their own account. It has recently been deemed expedient to purchase for our library a large collection of documents and papers printed for the religious denomination called

Second Adventists, which, originating in 1843, now numbers eight hundred preachers, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand members. If their distinctive doctrine proves to be correct, a history so soon to terminate will not pay for the attempt to preserve it; but otherwise an assorted and classified collection of a hundred volumes of the chief doctrinal and statistical organs of that sect, from its formation to the present time, will become curious and instructive; for it contains not only a full exposition of the faith of the sect, but elaborate discussions upon the forms of materialism and other questions now agitating the churches. The collection is the result of twenty years effort, on the part of one of their most intelligent preachers, to prepare a comprehensive memorial of his denomination, and cannot now be duplicated. A contribution of similar material, of which this is the crown and completion, was made to the library by the same gentleman a number of years ago.

It is not too much to assert that a thoroughly life-like and accurate history of a period cannot be written without an examination of its periodical literature. How true it is that the spirit of the revolution of 1776 is to be traced largely in the essays written by leading thinkers and actors for the magazines and newspapers of the day! The wisdom, the wit, and the eloquence of the period immediately following, are often combined in such publications. During the process of establishing and organizing our national and state governments, the best minds addressed and influenced the public in that way. A large portion of the erudition and science of the infant Republic sought that means of publication. Most of the poetry which grew

out of the exalted feeling of the time is to be found in the same repositories. The beginnings of American archæology are there, in the form of letters from pioneers exploring and surveying the national territories at the west

The Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum of *Knowledge* and *Rational Entertainment*, established by the founder of this institution, in 1788-9, is now among the rarities of its kind. It contains, saith the title page of its first volume, "Poetry, Music, Biography, Physick, Geography, Morality, Criticism, Philosophy, Mathematics, Agriculture, Architecture, Chemistry, Novels, Tales, Romances, Translations, News, Marriages, Deaths, Meteorological Observations, &c., &c.," and this is a pretty fair, if concise, description of its contents. It was a highly respectable publication, and among its contributors were some of the best scholars and writers of New England. John Quincy Adams sometimes sat in the "Seat of the Muses," which was the rather euphuistic title of the poetical department; and in that department may be seen, continued for four years, in several volumes of the magazine, extracts from the manuscript of the earliest attempt to embody the events and characters of the Revolution in an epic poem. It began seventeen years before the Columbiad of Barlow appeared, and is of a similar character, though in a different metre. Examples taken almost at random will show the difference and the resemblance. Describing an interview had by Washington, with the ghost of Warren, who predicts what is to happen in the future, our writer says:

"From hence behold yon liquid sky,
There Gallias waving lilies fly,
To war her troops advance,

DeGrasse shall guard Potomack's coast,
 Rochambeau, Fayette, fire the host,
 And arm the pride of France."

Barlow's measure is this :

" Here stood stern Putnam scored with ancient scars,
 The living record of his country's wars,
 Wayne, like a moving tower, assumes his post,
 Fires the whole field, and is himself a host.
 Undaunted Sterling, prompt to meet his foes,
 And Gates and Sullivan for action rose.
 Macdougall, Clinton, guardians of the state,
 Stretch the nerved arm to pierce the depths of fate."

Both writers aimed to weave into their verses not only the scenes and incidents of the contest, but the names of persons prominent in military or political service.

The epic of the Massachusetts Magazine was never published elsewhere. The portions printed are called "extracts" from the manuscript, and appear to be specimens only of the work, though they indicate that the poem has been nearly or quite completed. They together comprise 279 stanzas or 1274 lines, and ceased when the magazine, after its fourth year, was transferred to other hands. The verses though stilted and extravagant in expression, are not without some poetical merit; and, with their frequent notes, have at least the interest and value of a contemporary historical document. The name of the author is not mentioned, but it was George Richards. It may sound familiar to you, and you may associate it with the name of George Richards Minot, the historian, though there is no connection between them. You will not find it in Allen's American Biography, or in Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, or in Allibone's Dictionary, or in Morse's Genealogy of the Richards Families; but it is briefly referred to

in a MS. collection of biographical notices prepared by the late lamented Samuel Jennison, so long a prominent officer of this Society.

As George Richards is better entitled to a place among the writers of his time, in prose and verse, than some who have been ostentatiously commemorated, I have endeavored to enlarge the very slight information furnished by Mr. Jennison, respecting his works and his history.

From an allusion in one of his poems, it appears that he was a native of Rhode Island. In the reprint of the Boston Directory of 1789, he is called a schoolmaster, on Middle street. In that year Washington visited Boston, and Richards wrote an ode in honor of his arrival, and another at his departure. A New Year's ode by him, for Jan., 1791, was set to music and printed. In 1793 he printed "The Declaration of Independence, a Poem, accompanied by odes, songs &c., adapted to the day." (July 4). They were dedicated to John Hancock. The publication was anonymous. The principal poem is largely illustrated with notes and classical references and imitations, and claims to make mention of "every patriotic name from New Hampshire to Georgia, of those who dared to explain the wrongs of America, and pronounce her independent of Great Britain."

On Dec. 27, 1793, he delivered an address before St. Andrews Lodge, in Boston, that was printed. In the same year he went to Portsmouth, where he was a schoolmaster, and also supplied the pulpit of the Universalist Society. A discourse delivered by him Dec. 25, 1794, was published there. In 1800 he pronounced at Portsmouth, a commemorative and historical discourse on Wash-

ington, in two parts; which was printed, with eight odes or hymns, written by him for the same occasion. This was dedicated "affectionately" to Mrs. Washington. He also delivered a Masonic Address at Nottingham, in 1800, and another at Gloucester, Mass., in 1806. He left Portsmouth in 1809 for Philadelphia, where he established and edited a literary periodical, called "The Free Mason's Magazine and General Miscellany," to which, however, he did not attach his name. After two years of continuance, with an air of prosperity, this came suddenly to an end, probably on account of the insanity of the editor, who died by his own hand at a hospital in that city. Besides the literary labors above stated he compiled a collection of hymns, and edited an edition of Preston's Masonry. Richards seems to have had a modest estimate of his own poems, and to have generally preferred to remain in the shadow of his literary productions. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Washington, and anxious that the glory of his country and of her heroes should be suitably recorded. His ardent and excitable imagination might easily pass beyond the control of his reason. He is said to have possessed agreeable manners and is always referred to with respect. If there is too much of the Fourth of July in his style of composition, it should be remembered that the influences of that anniversary and its associations, which have overcome the judgment and taste of many able men, was fresher and stronger with him than with us. As a Boston schoolmaster and poet who has been forgotten, and as a friend and literary coadjutor of the founder of our Society, this passing notice of Richards may not be out of place.

We should be proud indeed if we could produce perfect

sets of the ante-Revolution magazines, some of which were before the middle of the century. Most of those bearing the title of *American* were short lived. The name was adopted in Philadelphia, Boston, and New Jersey. That of Boston (started in 1743) continued longest—three years and four months. We were able a while since to make our copy almost complete from odd and fragmentary numbers. (We have perhaps all that was published of the General Magazine of Philadelphia, of 1741, which lasted but six months.) The New American of Woodbridge, N. J., which took the place of the American Monthly Chronicle of Philadelphia, in 1757, continued two years and three months. The war of the Revolution put an end to the magazines then existing. Though we are better provided with those of the period immediately subsequent, they are too often like regiments mustered after a battle, deficient in numbers, and with a proportion of maimed or damaged survivors.

Most of these were collected by Mr. Thomas, but with all his thoughtfulness and care for such matters, he does not seem to have attached sufficient importance to the lighter literature which was contemporary with himself; being content, often, to preserve specimens instead of entire and regular series.

We will aim to treat the periodicals of the present day, of whatever nature and degree, with more consideration; and promise that all that come to the library from its friends shall, so far as our efforts may avail, be transmitted to other generations.

We are reminded by the total destruction of a valuable historical library in a sister State, of the dangers to which

all such collections are exposed ; and we may be called upon for an expression of practical sympathy by the contribution of spare copies of books and pamphlets towards replacing the loss. We are also, by this event, assisted to realize the important security which a well organized system of exchange, by which the publications of each section of country shall be distributed to every other section, may furnish against one of the consequences of such a calamity. The printed documents of local organizations, municipal or social, are, of all publications, least likely to survive their immediate use. The general disappearance of the early "Sessions Laws" of Massachusetts is an example in point ; and cases are constantly coming to our knowledge where societies and associations are destitute of reports and business papers published by themselves only a few years back. If towns and cities and private corporations would send their publications liberally to distributing libraries, to be exchanged for like publications emanating from similar bodies elsewhere, the chances of their preservation, under any circumstances, would be very great. This is one of the uses of the system that can be most generally appreciated and taken advantage of, though its wider application and utility are equally evident.

We have received as gifts since the last report, three hundred and eighty books, two thousand one hundred and twelve pamphlets, one hundred and ninety volumes of unbound newspapers, sixteen maps, two manuscripts, two photographs, four medals, and various broadsides, circulars and cards.

Seventeen volumes, ten pamphlets, and ninety volumes of newspapers, have been purchased.

We have gained by exchanges, fifty-nine books and fifty-one pamphlets.

Seventy-nine volumes have been received from the binder.

Those among our donors who have sent matters of their own authorship are the following :

Authors.

Rev. Geo. E. Ellis, D.D.
 James F. Hunnewell, Esq.
 Nath'l Paine, Esq.
 Sam'l A. Green, M.D.
 Edwin M. Snow, M.D., Providence, R. I.
 Pelham W. Ames, Esq.
 James Lenox, Esq., New York.
 Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee.
 Isaac Smucker, Esq., Newark, O.
 Hon. John A. Knowles,
 Rev. Dan'l T. Taylor, Rouse's Point, N. Y.
 J. Fletcher Williams, Esq., St. Paul, Minn.
 Sam'l Park, Esq., Marshall, Ill.
 Prof. Daniel Wilson, LL.D., Toronto, Canada.
 Major L. A. H. Latour, Montreal, Canada.
 Rev. B. F. DeCosta, New York.
 Increase A. Lapham, LL.D., Milwaukee, Wis.
 William B. Trask, Esq., Boston.
 Mr. Byron A. Baldwin, Chicago, Ill.
 Com. Geo. H. Preble.
 Hon. Emory Washburn.
 Charles H. Hart, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
 J. Smith Futhy, Esq., Westchester, Pa.
 Mr. John H. Barber, New Haven, Conn.
 Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D.

The beautiful copy of Boydell's illustrated folio Shakespeare, that lies upon the table, is a gift from Mrs. Levi Lincoln. From another venerable lady, Mrs. John Davis, with like causes of interest in this Society, and also a constant contributor to its collections, we have received a set of the Overland Monthly, handsomely bound.

An account of accessions and their donors, in detail, is attached to this report.

S. F. HAVEN.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report, for the six months ending October 20, 1871.

The Librarian's and General Fund, April 22, 1871, was \$28,217.38

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 1,274.47

\$29,491.85

Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . . 754.64

Present amount of this Fund, \$28,737.21

The Collection and Research Fund, April 22, 1871, was \$18,399.38

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 567.01

13,966.39

Paid for books, part of Librarian's salary, &c. . . 624.93

Present amount of this Fund, 13,341.46

The Bookbinding Fund, April 22, 1871, was . . . \$9,719.47

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 424.85

10,144.32

Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary, 176.28

Present amount of this Fund, 9,968.04

The Publishing Fund, April 22, 1871, was . . . \$10,742.40

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 409.52

11,151.92

Paid for printing and expenses incurred for publishing, 282.04

Present amount of this Fund, 10,869.88

The Salisbury Building Fund, April 22, 1871, was . \$9,768.14

Received for interest since, 282.87

Present amount of the Fund, 10,041.01

Amount carried forward, \$72,957.60

Amount brought forward,	\$72,957.60
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , April 22, 1871, was	\$666.08
Received for interest since,	18.38
	<hr/> 684.46
Paid for books,	42.00
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	642.46
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , April 22, 1871, was	\$1,062.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
	<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,	1,092.20
Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/> \$74,692.26
	<hr/>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement,	<hr/> \$1,422.26
	<hr/>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,400.00
Railroad Stock,	5,820.00
Railroad Bonds,	5,700.00
United States Bonds,	1,600.00
City Bonds,	1,000.00
Cash,	217.21
	<hr/> \$28,737.21

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,200.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	4,800.00
United States Bonds,	3,000.00
City Bonds,	500.00
Cash,	41.46
	<hr/> 13,341.46

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,700.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
Cash,	268.04
	<hr/> 9,968.04
Amount carried forward,	<hr/> \$52,046.61

Amount brought forward, \$52,046.61
The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	4,000.00	
United States Bonds,	3,050.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Note,	500.00	
Cash,	419.88	
		<hr/> 10,869.88

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
Railroad Stock,	400.00	
Railroad Bonds,	700.00	
United States Bonds,	500.00	
City Bonds,	8,000.00	
Cash,	341.01	
		<hr/> 10,041.01

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	42.46	
		<hr/> 642.46

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Cash,	92.20	
		<hr/> 1,092.20

Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/> \$74,692.26 <hr/>
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Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 20, 1871.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments and find them as stated; and they are safely and judiciously made.

ISAAC DAVIS, }
 EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, October 21st, 1871.

Donors and Donations.

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester. — For the Davis Alcove, "Manuscrit Troano, Etudes Sur Le Système Graphique, et la Langue Des Mayas," par M. Brasseur De Bourbourg, 2 vols., Paris, 1869-70; and for the General Library, nineteen books, and one hundred and ten pamphlets.

THE FAMILY OF THE LATE HON. J. S. C. KNOWLTON, Worcester. — Forty one books; four hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and five maps.

MRS. JOHN DAVIS, Worcester. — The Overland Monthly, complete to November, 1871; and one Atlantic Monthly.

MR. J. F. D. GARFIELD, Fitchburg. — Thirty-four pamphlets.

MESSRS. HUBBARD, BROS. & Co., Boston. — Eighteen Registers and Directories; and eight U. S. Public Documents.

MR. J. G. SMITH, Worcester. — Fourteen books; sixteen pamphlets; three maps; and the Worcester Daily Sun, complete.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester. — Three books; one hundred and fifteen pamphlets; the Golden Age and Christian Union, in continuation; and various circulars and cards.

WILLIAM A. SMITH, Esq., Worcester. — A choice collection of programmes and hand bills, 1846-1871, bound; and three pamphlets.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston. — Four books and sixty-seven pamphlets.

HON. JOHN D. BALDWIN, Worcester. — Twenty-six pamphlets.

REV. RUSH R. SHIPPEN, Worcester. — Newspaper clippings, relating to the War of the Rebellion, and the Institution of Slavery.

REV. HENRY L. JONES, Fitchburg. — Percy Society Reprints, one volume; and the Eclectic Magazine for 1870.

- HON. CHARLES SUMNER, Boston.—Two books; eighteen pamphlets; and one map.
- HON. J. C. B. DAVIS, Washington, D. C.—Washington Meteorological and Astronomical Observations, 1868; U. S. Commercial Relations, 1869 and 1870; and the Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871.
- HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester.—Seven bound vols.; seventy-seven numbers of American periodicals; two hundred and seventeen miscellaneous pamphlets; and files of seven newspapers.
- THE ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.—Four books; forty pamphlets; and one map.
- STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., Esq., Worcester.—Three books.
- CLEMENT H. HILL, Esq., Washington, D. C.—Twenty-seven pamphlets.
- EDWIN M. SNOW, M. D., Providence, R. I.—Two Reports as Superintendent of Health; and one Report as Secretary of the Board of State Charities; also the R. I. Registration Report, for 1869.
- THE TRAVELERS' INSURANCE CO., Hartford, Conn.—The Travelers' Record, 1869-71; and twelve of their pamphlets, on Life and Accident Insurance.
- REV. GEORGE ALLEN, Worcester.—Census of Canada, 1851-2, two vols.; and eighty-six selected pamphlets.
- GEORGE E. FRANCIS, M. D., Worcester.—Two pamphlets; and six maps.
- MRS. WILLIAM H. SANFORD, Worcester.—Two books; and one pamphlet.
- JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y.—Fourteen pamphlets.
- JAMES LENOX, Esq., New York.—Relation of Cabeça de Vaca; N. Y. Historical Society Collections, 1869; Catalogue of Books relating to America on Sale by A. R. Smith, London; Annual Report of the Trustees of the Lenox Library; and the Third Annual Report of the Presbyterian Hospital of the city of New York.
- MR. B. J. DODGE, Worcester.—Three books; and twenty-eight pamphlets.

- HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester. — Five books and six pamphlets relating to Utah Territory and the Mormons.
- REV. GEORGE S. PAINE, Worcester. — Thirty-two pamphlets; and a Collection of Broad-sides, Hand-bills, Circulars and Cards.
- MRS. IRA M. BARTON, Worcester. — Three Books.
- MISS SARAH F. EARLE, Worcester. — Thirty-one pamphlets.
- ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O. — McBride's Pioneer Biography, vol. 2; Ohio Valley Historical Miscellanies; Fourth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, 1870; and fourteen choice pamphlets.
- EDWARD L. DAVIS, Esq., Worcester. — A fine photograph of Stonehenge, with a printed description, both handsomely framed; and a Topographical Map of Massachusetts.
- MISS H. G. CREAMER, Worcester. — One book; and two pamphlets.
- REV. C. D. BRADLEE, Boston. — His sermon on "Desire for Heaven;" one Pamphlet; one Photograph; and a Deed of 1735.
- MR. JAMES WHITE, Worcester. — One book; and the New Hampshire Gazette of May 11, 1759.
- MESSRS. E. DARROW & BROTHER, Rochester, N. Y. — Three pamphlets.
- MR. PLINY HOLBROOK, Worcester. — A Washington Funeral Oration, 1800; and two early Newspapers.
- MR. PETER WALKER, Philadelphia, Pa. — Index to the Princeton Review, 1825-1868.
- GEORGE W. GALE, Esq., Worcester. — Three Mexican Almanacs; and various Mexican Newspapers.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster. — Leominster Town Reports, for 1870-71; and Catalogue of the Free Public Library of Leominster.
- HON. GEORGE W. RICHARDSON, Worcester. — Four pamphlets.
- WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester. — Twelve pamphlets.
- HON. CHARLES DEVENS, Worcester. — A collection of Invitations and Cards.
- MRS. HENRY P. STURGIS, Boston. — Three pamphlets.

- MR. CHARLES B. JOHNSON, Worcester. — A parcel of the High School Thesaurus, 1859-66.
- HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — Four Arrowheads of Obsidian, from Novato, Marin Co., Cal.; and Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences, Vol. 4, Part 3.
- ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, O. — Pioneer Historical Papers Nos. 81-86.
- Prof. JOSEPH HENRY, Washington, D. C. — Instructions for the Expedition Toward the North Pole.
- GEORGE E. CHAMBERS, Esq., Philadelphia. — Report of the Philadelphia Board of Health for the year 1870.
- HON. CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington. — Proceedings at the Dedication of the Town and Memorial Hall, Lexington, April 19, 1871.
- MRS. E. G. KELLEY, Newburyport. — Manuscript Sermon of Bishop Bass, of the Diocese of Massachusetts.
- E. F. DUREN, Esq., Bangor, Me. — Minutes, Sermon and Reports of the Maine Congregational Conference, 1871.
- Prof. J. D. BUTLER, Cincinnati, O. — Various Circulars relating to Western Railroads and Lands.
- J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston. — A Manuscript Dudleian Lecture, by Rev. Dr. Eckley.
- MR. NELSON R. SCOTT, Worcester. — Four Medals.
- MR. EDWIN HUBBARD, Chicago, Ill. — One pamphlet; and one Broadside.
- Major E. T. RAYMOND, Worcester. — A French "Plebiscite" Vote.
- MRS. JOHN W. BIGELOW, New York. — A Manuscript Legal Document relating to South Carolina in 1748.
- HON. JOHN A. KNOWLES, Lowell. — No. 16 of his Reminiscences of Forty Years Life in Lowell.
- MRS. SARAH NICHOLS, Auburn. — An Indian Plummet.
- Rev. D. T. TAYLOR, Rouse's Point, N. Y. — His article on the Navigation of Lake Champlain.
- MR. BYRON A. BALDWIN, Chicago, Ill. — His Nathaniel Baldwin, and one Line of his Descendants.
- Com. GEO. HENRY PREBLE, Charlestown. — His Notes on Early Ship Building in Massachusetts, and his Memoir of William Pitt Fessenden.

- HON. EMORY WASHBURN, Cambridge. — His Historical Address at the Celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the town of Leicester, July 4, 1871.
- CHARLES H. HART, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — His Memoir of George Ticknor, Historian of Spanish Literature.
- JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., Charlestown. — His "Lands of Scott."
- REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., Charlestown. — His Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, with notices of his Daughter.
- J. SMITH FUTHEY, Esq., West Chester, Pa. — His History of Upper Octorora Church, 1720-1870.
- MR. JOHN W. BARBER, New Haven, Conn. — His Historical Collections of New Jersey.
- MESSRS. RICHARD SOULE and WILLIAM A. WHEELER, Boston. — Their "First Lessons in Reading: a New Method of Teaching the Reading of English."
- REV. ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., Cambridge. — His Memoir of Charles Burroughs, D.D.
- PLINY EARLE CHASE, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — His Article on Signal Service Weather Reports.
- HON. BENJAMIN VAUGHAN ABBOTT, Commissioner, &c., Washington, D. C. — Revision of the United States Statutes, Title 2. The Legislative Power: as drafted by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose.
- PELHAM W. AMES, Esq., Boston. — Speeches of Fisher Ames, in Congress, 1789-1796, edited by Pelham W. Ames; and Life and Works of Fisher Ames, 2 vols., Boston, 1854.
- PROF. DANIEL WILSON, Toronto, Canada. — His Paper on the Huron Race and its Head Form.
- REV. RUSH R. SHIPPEN, Sec'y A. U. A. — Army Tracts of the American Unitarian Association.
- MR. W. DEAN LEWIS, Worcester. — Boston Directory for 1870.
- MR. JOHN N. GENIN, New York. — "Selections from the writings of THOMAS H. Genin, with Biographical Sketch."
- MISS HELEN M. KNOWLTON, Worcester. — "Geografia de la Republica de Ecuador."

Messrs. JOSEPH CHASE & Co., Worcester. — A Collection of Placards.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester. — Parcels of the New York Evening Post, Boston Journal, Daily Advertiser, Commercial Bulletin, Worcester Spy, Evening Gazette, and Palladium.

HAMILTON A. HILL, Esq., Boston. — Three hundred Public Documents.

Mrs. LEVI LINCOLN, Worcester. — *Boydell's Shakspeare*, 2 vols., folio, superbly bound.

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. — Fourteen volumes of the United States Documents.

JOSEPH PRATT, Esq., Worcester. — Files of the New York Tribune, Boston Daily Advertiser, Commonwealth, and Universalist, 1868-1871, in continuation.

Mr. D. D. PRESCOTT, Oakdale. — Five Indian Implements; one hundred and sixteen Farmer's Almanacs; and a Trunk, formerly the property of Robert B. Thomas.

JOHN E. MASON, M.D., Washington, D. C. — "National Masonic Welcome to the Grand Master of Masons of England."

General FRANCIS A. WALKER, Washington, D. C. — United States Statistics of Population, 1871.

ANDREW H. GREEN, Esq., New York. — The Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners of the Central Park.

Mrs. J. H. WESTON, Worcester. — Thurber's "Heart Offering to the Loved and the Lost."

HENRY C. WADSWORTH, Esq., Worcester. — Norton's History of Augusta, Maine.

W. F. POOLE, Esq., Cincinnati, O. — Annual Report of the Public Library of Cincinnati.

THE BOSTON BOARD OF TRADE. — Their Seventeenth Annual Report.

THE BOARD OF PUBLIC CHARITIES, PA. — Their first Annual Report.

W. A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., Newark, N. J. — "A new Historic Manual Concerning the Three Battles at Trenton and Princeton, N. J., 1776-77."

- Messrs. SNOW BROS., Worcester. — Memorial of James Barnard Blake, in fine binding.
- MONTACUTE LODGE, F. & A. M., Worcester. — Report of the Committee of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, to whom was referred the Memorial of Montacute Lodge as to the Change of Name.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester. — City Document No. 23.
- DR. DON MANUEL RAFAEL GARCIA, Washington, D. C. — "Codigo Civil de la Republica Argentina."
- COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester. — Barnes' History of Edward III., folio, London, 1688.
- SAMUEL PARK, Esq., Marshall, Ill. — His Article on American Antiquities.
- J. FLETCHER WILLIAMS, Esq., St. Paul, Minnesota. — His Bibliography of Minnesota, and History of the Newspaper Press of St. Paul, Minnesota; also, "Two Campaigns in the War of 1812-13," by Samuel Williams.
- Major L. "A. H. LATOUR, Montreal, Canada. — His "Annuaire de Ville-Marie."
- Rev. B. F. DE COSTA, New York. — His Paper on the Moabite Stone.
- J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. — The Monthly Bulletin.
- GEORGE W. CHILDS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — The American Literary Gazette.
- HON. INCREASE A. LAPHAM, Milwaukee, Wis. — His Paper on the Indians of Wisconsin, with an appendix containing a complete Chronology of Wisconsin.
- WILLIAM B. TRASK, Esq., Boston. — His Genealogy of the Bird Family; and Will of Rev. Richard Mather; also, two Historical Pamphlets.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON. — Their Archæologia, Vol. 40, No. 2, and Vol. 43, No. 1; and Proceedings, Vol. 4, Nos. 8 and 9.
- THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY. — Their Memoirs, Part 1, Nos. 1 and 2; and Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 66, and Vol. 14, pp. 112.

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. of London. — Their Proceedings, Vol. 14, Nos. 3-5: and Vol. 15, No. 1.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Historical Collections, Vol. 11, Part 1: Proceedings and Communications, Vol. 6, Part 2; and Bulletin, Vol. 3, Nos. 1-5.

THE TRUSTEES OF BLACKMORE MUSEUM. Salisbury, England. — Flint Chips: a Guide to Pre-Historic Archaeology, as illustrated by the collection in the Blackmore Museum.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, Vol. 9, 4th series: and Vol. 1, 5th series: and Proceedings 1869-1870.

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. — Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. 17.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA. — Twelve volumes of Iowa State Documents: and the Annals of Iowa for April and July, 1871.

THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE. — The Canadian Journal, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members: and "Wilde's Summer Rose, or the Lament of the Captive, an authentic account of the origin, mystery and explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism, by Anthony Barclay, Esq."

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY. — Their Journal, Vol. 9, Nos. 1, 2, and eleven Nos. of Proceedings, 1860-1871.

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, Vol. 12, No. 86.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION. — Their Proceedings June 17, 1871, with the Address of G. Washington Warren, President of the Association.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS. — Their Bulletin, Vol. 2, Nos. 5 and 6.

THE WISCONSIN EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION. — The Proceedings at their Fourteenth Annual Session.

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE. — Their Thirty-third Annual Report.

- THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA. — Their Proceedings for January, February, and March, 1871.
- THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — Their List of Books added, January to July, 1871.
- THE PEABODY INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE. — The Fourth Annual Report of the Provost to the Trustees.
- THE LINNEAN SOCIETY, London. — The Address of the President, May 24, 1867.
- THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION OF ARCHÆOLOGY, St. Petersburg. — Their Report for the year 1868.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, Vol. 2, No. 3.
- THE CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. — Their Transactions, Vol. 1, Part 2.
- THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION. — Their Catalogue of the Library, 1865; and fifteen files of American Newspapers.
- THE OHIO STATE LIBRARY. — Twelve volumes Ohio State Documents, 1869-1870.
- THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — Their annual report for 1871; forty-five Nos. of English and American periodicals; and thirty-two files of newspapers.
- THE N. E. HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — Their Register, as issued.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. — Their Fiftieth Annual Report; and an account of the Semi-Centennial Celebration.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY COMPANY, Philadelphia. — Their List of Duplicate Books, 1871.
- THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Boston. — Their Fifty-first Annual Report.
- THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. — The Fifty-third Annual Report of the Trustees.
- THE PAWCATUCK LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, Westerly, R. I. — The Annual Report for 1870, with address by O. H. Kile, Esq.
- THE SILAS BRONSON LIBRARY, Waterbury, Conn. — The Second Annual Report of the Board of Agents.

- THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Nineteenth Annual Report ;
and Bulletins, Nos. 17 and 18.
- THE CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Catalogue of the Li-
brary, and Fourth Annual Report.
- THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Worcester. — Fifty files of Newspa-
pers.
- THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. —
Their Journal, as issued.
- PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. —
Their papers, as issued.
- PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY. — Their
paper, as issued.
- PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper, as
issued.
- PROPRIETOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — The paper, as issued.
- PROPRIETORS OF LA REPUBLICA, N. Y. — Their paper, as issued.
- PROPRIETOR OF THE GOLDEN AGE. — The paper, as issued.
- PROPRIETORS OF THE BOSTON SEMI-WEEKLY ADVERTISER. — Their
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 23, 1872.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
FALGADUM OFFICE.
1872.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
AT THE
SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 23, 1872.

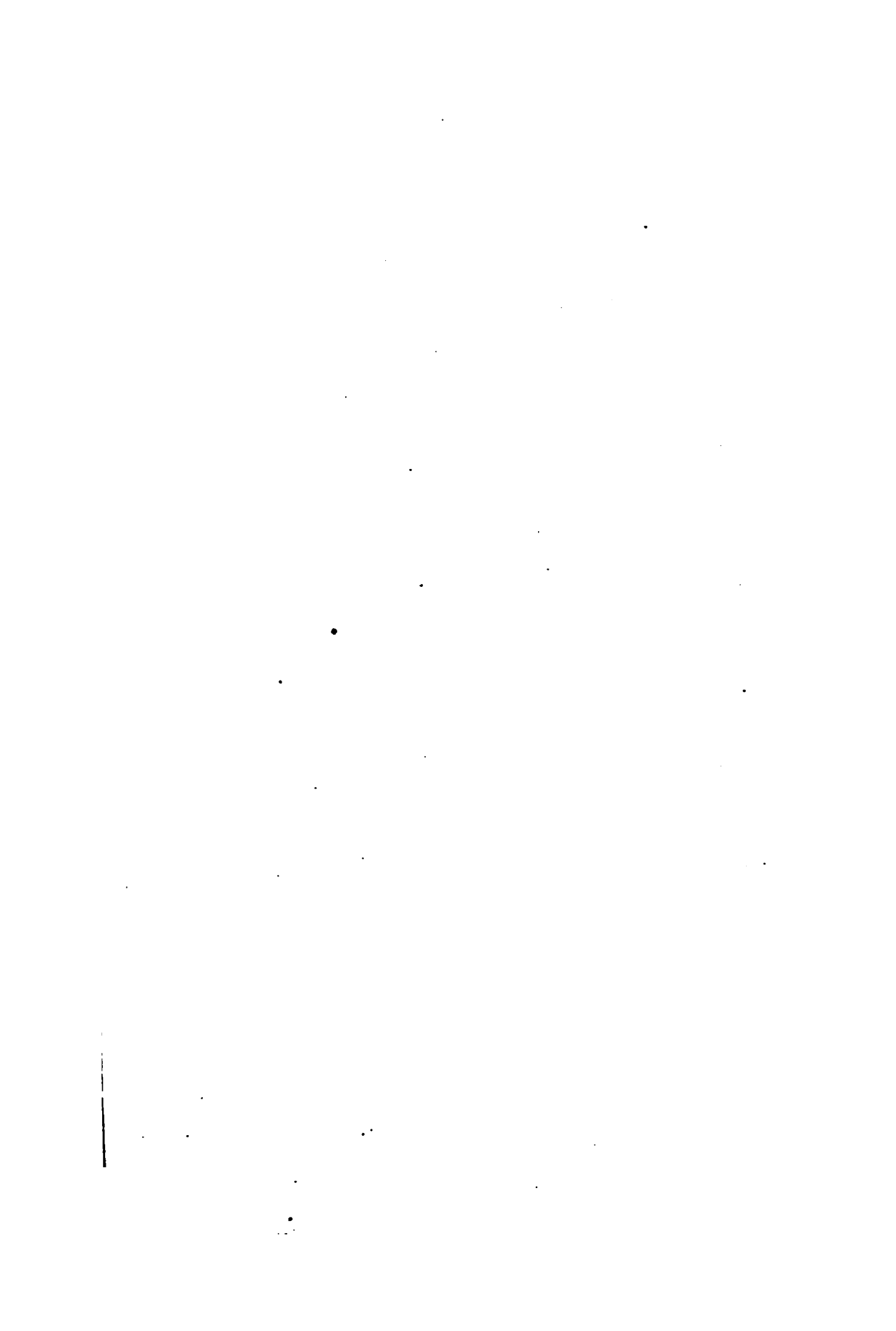


WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1872.

P.
Author.
127

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 23, 1872, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The Record of the last Meeting was read and approved.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN read the report of the Council.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual Reports, which were adopted as parts of the Report of the Council, and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

The Secretary read a paper, prepared by HORACE DAVIS, Esq., of San Francisco, a member of the Society, setting forth facts which had come to his knowledge, tending to show the probability of an admixture of Japanese blood among the natives of the Northwest coast.

On motion of Mr. HAVEN, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Davis, for his valuable communication, and the paper was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL spoke in approval of the suggestions of Mr. Davis's paper, stating that he had himself seen relics from the Northwest coast that bore the closest resemblance to the same classes of articles from Japan. He

believed that evidences of Japanese admixture in the north-west are to be sought in handiwork rather than in language. The carved pipe heads, spoons, dishes, and similar relics, suggest Japanese designs, and he had little doubt that those nations at some time had Japanese models.*

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., spoke briefly on the same subject, and in commendation of Mr. Davis's paper.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., was pleased to speak in terms of commendation of the report of the Council, and ex-

*In the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XIII, No. V., issued November 8, 1869, is an article on the Queen Charlotte Islands, a dependency of British Columbia, by Robert Brown, F.R.G.S. The Indians inhabiting them are described by him as "physically perhaps the finest race on the North American Continent, scarcely surpassed in appearance by the western backwoodsman or hunter." "The men and women are tall, muscular and straight." "Their color is very fair, and in the women, who are not much exposed to the weather, there is a mixture of red and white in their cheeks not seen in any other aboriginal American race." Of this people, whose physical characteristics do not much resemble those of the Japanese, it is said:

"They excel all other of the American races in their artistic skill. The beautiful pipes, statuettes, &c., made of slate, may have been already mentioned, as well as jewelry made of silver coin. Most of these would not disgrace a civilized jeweller; and when we consider that all the tools they had to work with were probably a broken knife and a file, their execution is really wonderful, as well as the æsthetic taste displayed in their design. A man called *Wakeus* made out of gold coin a pair of bracelets for the wife of the English Admiral on the station, of such beautiful design and execution that they were universally admired. The same man afterwards designed the cast-iron railing now ornamenting the balcony of the Bank of British Columbia, in Victoria. He could scratch a fair portrait on ivory, and I have seen a bust of Shakespeare executed by him in slate from an engraving. My friend Mr. A. G. Dallas, late Governor-General of the Hudson's Bay Company territories, has a bust of himself executed in ivory by one of these Indians, than which nothing could be more excellently executed, or a better likeness. Often the figures in the 'Illustrated London News,' of the Assyrian sculptures, have been copied by them in slate, and the ethnologist who hereafter finds (as I have done) the 'Man-Bull of Nineveh' among the northern Indians, must be cautious before he builds any extensive theory on the event! One of these Indians carved a chair for me, merely with a knife, and some shark's skin for polishing, of most admirable finish. If they could be induced to settle down and learn something of art, I have no doubt but that some of them would distinguish themselves. They are however, like all savages, of too roving a disposition ever to become adepts in any civilized art."

pressed the hope that it might be found feasible to publish with the report, some of the important maps alluded to. Mr. Deane said also, that he had again read, and with renewed interest, Dr. Kohl's Memoir of the West Coast, now in possession of the Society, which he regarded as worthy of publication, and which he hoped the Society would before long be able to issue with the *fac simile* maps, in a new volume of its transactions. He thought, however, that it was due to Dr. Kohl, now living in Bremen, as it was due to the Society, before its publication, to inquire of him if anything in the Memoir required modification, it being some years since it was written. It was Mr. Deane's impression that Dr. Kohl had a copy of the work with him, and he always understood that the author felt even a deeper interest in the subject of the West Coast of America than he did in that of the East Coast.

Rev. LEONARD WOODS, LL.D., said he could confirm what Mr. Deane had intimated, that Dr. Kohl regarded his work on the History of the West Coast with even a deeper interest than he did that on the East Coast. As to securing Dr. Kohl's coöperation in publishing this work in behalf of the Society, he supposed that gentleman would not feel at liberty to furnish it, as it was first written at least, without the consent of the State Department. Dr. Kohl would feel at liberty without doubt to avail himself of it in preparing for publication a work substantially new and brought down to the present time, as he had availed himself of his original manuscript on the History of the East Coast in preparing for the Maine Historical Society his work on that subject; or he would feel at liberty to publish it in German, as he did his work on the Gulf Stream, written for the Coast

Survey; that on learning, what he had not known before, that this manuscript had been given by the Smithsonian Institution to the Antiquarian Society, Dr. Kohl would doubtless be disposed to coöperate with the Society in bringing it out in the best way; that having peculiar opportunities as city librarian at Bremen to avail himself of all the more recent literature on the subject, he would, more easily than any other person, correct and improve his work by the help of subsequent investigation on the subject; but that after all, a good deal of labor would be required, on the part of the editor, in adapting the author's phraseology to the English idiom.

Further suggestions on the subject were made by Mr. HAVEN and Col. WASHBURN, and the Society expressed the wish, without formal vote, that Mr. Deane would write to Dr. Kohl on the subject; and it was subsequently

Voted, That the subject of printing Dr. Kohl's Memoir be referred to the Committee of Publication, with authority to publish if they shall deem it expedient.

The Council recommended GEORGE W. CHILDS, Esq., of Philadelphia, for membership of the Society. Henry Wheatland, M.D., was appointed to receive the ballots, and Mr. Childs was unanimously elected:

Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., now rose and said:

I am always surprised at the variety, interest, and piquancy of the matter which our Librarian so felicitously mingles with his official semi-annual reports. He contrives to bring a most extensive range of subjects within the scope of our inquiries. He proves that they come legitimately within the province of the Society by the ingenuity with which he connects them with some primary object of our interest. I am now about to suggest for

some future discussion by him or by the Council, a subject of great practical importance, and which certainly does not lie outside of the historical and local themes of public concern that may well be dealt with by this Society. Our own published Proceedings, as well as those of the Massachusetts Historical Society, contain some very elaborate essays upon the origin and characteristics of the Town system—the peculiar municipal organization of the communities of this State and of New England—about their local bounds, their measured independency, and their administration in subordinancy to a general government which embraces them. The topic which I now have in mind as incidentally connected with that theme, and as being of itself of independent interest, is that of Town Debts—the mortgaging of the real estate in these communities, and the binding of the generations of posterity yet to live in them, by heavy pecuniary obligations incurred by those now on the stage. Perhaps not all of us are aware how this usage has grown upon us, nor of the enormous extent of the debts which have thus been incurred by our municipalities. When and for what purpose, and by what town or city first in this State, was money borrowed on a note to be repaid at a defined or an undefined date in the future? Was the first measure of this kind generally approved as a necessity, or allowed only after protest and resistance, through force of a local majority in its favor? What is to be said for or against the allowance of the now confirmed habit of our municipalities? What is now, so far as is ascertainable, the amount of such indebtedness in our Commonwealth? What proportion does the sum bear to the value of the property which it mortgages? What is the practical effect and what the probable tendency of this usage?

Certain it is that very many of our municipalities have allowed themselves a license in this matter which has accumulated heavy burdens for posterity. The annual interest due on the debts of many towns and cities—even without adding to it an assessment for sinking funds for the payment of them—now constitutes a very sensible addition to the tax levied for covering the current expenses of our communities. It is certain also that the incurring of debts by our towns and cities, on the pledge of their bonds and notes, is comparatively of modern origin. In no single

point of view does the contrast between the principles and usages of our earlier generations of ancestors on this soil appear more honorable to them and more questionable as regards ourselves, than in a fair statement of the facts bearing on this subject. The first English comers to this soil brought with them the means of occupancy; and what they could not pay for they dispensed with; leaving to their posterity an improved heritage, with all the gatherings and fruitage of their own labors, and with no pecuniary or other burdens. In their day of small things and of hard things, they subdued the wilderness, they grubbed out the stumps of the forests, they fenced their commons, they opened roads, they bridged streams, they built their oak-timbered meeting-houses and school-houses, they founded their College, they met the expenses of their local and colony government, and always paid for everything as they went along, year by year. So far as my knowledge of them goes, I know of no case in which any one of these municipalities, however hard pressed, even by famine, ever raised among them the proposition to borrow the credit of posterity—much less can I recall any case in which such indebtedness was incurred. Nor is this all. Never in the levies of troops and in the expenses for their equipment and sustenance and transportation, in the Pequot and other Indian wars—not even in that continued and costly struggle with King Phillip—did town or colony have recourse to our modern facile custom of issuing bonds of indebtedness to be liquidated at some future period. Honestly, if not always punctually, without discount or drawback, and with immense struggles of self-denial, did our ancestors, year by year, do a cash business, allowing and venturing no credits. It may be said that they could not have borrowed money had they essayed to do so; that there were no home or foreign capitalists who would have made them loans, on any security which it was in their power to offer. But probably this assertion would not be true, either in the letter or in the spirit of it. There were warm and devoted friends and sympathizers at home, in England and Scotland, and in Holland, with these our exiles. Individuals and associated companies in the old world would doubtless have been ready to make loans on public pledges issued here. We did receive friendly gifts from abroad—gifts that were heartily appre-

ciated—for the first printing-press, for the college and its library, and for missions to the Indians. Gifts they were, and not loans. They left no burden but that of gratitude on posterity.

The first instances which at present come to my mind in which our ancestors departed from their rigid rule of paying as they spent, even for their sternest necessities, were when they were drawn into distant, costly and ruinous warfare, not only with Indian foes but with their French allies. And this was mainly after our colonial independence in government had yielded to our provincial subjection to English rulers. The first issue of Province bills, and every subsequent issue of them, were connected with the darkest and most calamitous periods of our history. Distant places in the wilderness were to be garrisoned and victualled. The young and vigorous men of the settlements had to be enlisted, not for brief campaigns, but for indefinite absence from their fields and workshops, to hold possession of forts far away on the frontiers. Vessels with their armaments and stores had to be provided for warfare on the Eastern Coast and on the Canadian rivers. It was an utter impossibility for the imperiled people of those dark days to meet the expenses of such enterprises. Debt, or absolute ruin, was the alternative. But even then, so far as I am aware, there were no town debts incurred. The Province was responsible for incurring them, and its general treasury was held to the payment of them. The confusion, discord, quarreling, suffering and injustice, visited upon our towns, upon traders, upon professional persons, upon land owners and tenants, upon particular individuals, and upon the whole community, from that "Province Debt," make one of the most painful and humiliating chapters in our history. It was only when, after the urgent solicitations of William Bollan, the agent of this Province at the English Court, remuneration was made for our expenditures in the expedition against Cape Breton, that any measure of relief was experienced here. The arrival and the procession through Boston, from the wharf to the Treasurer's office, of those seventeen cart-loads of silver and ten of copper coin—amounting in all to £183,649,2, and odd pence and farthings—or nearly a million dollars, was a most propitious event for Massachusetts. The burden was lifted for a while.

How different now are the usages in this respect of our munici-

palities as compared with the "pay as you go" system of our ancestors. I will not now undertake to say but that there may be grounds and reasons which will partially or fully justify the license now indulged by the inhabitants of towns in their town meetings and by the city councils of our cities, in the accumulation of debts, secured by the issue of bonds. Public improvements which are to be of permanent use and value, and so to be shared in by posterity, are largely the objects for which these debts are incurred. Of course there is something to be urged in justification of the incurring of such indebtedness for such objects. It may be said that posterity cannot expect to accede, without cost to them, to a heritage improved and enriched by all the difference between a rough and "howling wilderness" and a domain coursed by easy highways, paved streets and substantial bridges, decorated by stately public edifices, with palatial school-houses, city halls, libraries, parks and so forth. Let the utmost that can be urged on the score of this plea be fully and fairly allowed for. If any one of our associates shall act upon the hint which I offer in proposing this subject of Town Debts, I doubt not but that he will do full justice to this plea.

Still, after all such allowance has been made, the question will recur, whether the facilities for borrowing money on town securities have not led to an unjustifiable, a dangerous, and even a reckless indulgence, fostering public extravagance, and imperiling the fair credit, if not the solvency, of some of our communities. Several of the towns in this State, and in the other New England States, incurred their first indebtedness, for which they issued their bonds in payment, in connection with the late civil war. They had to raise their quotas of men through drafts or as substitutes, and to pay bounties and to furnish outfits. They found the amounts they had before raised, annually, for their highway, school and pauper tax, to the exaction of which they had become accustomed—not always gracefully, however—to be all at once doubled or trebled, by the expenses of the war. They found it also to be easier to borrow than to pay the extra demand. It may be said again that posterity, which will share in the blessings of a rescued heritage, must expect to bear some of the cost of its deliverance. But how is it with these elegant and expensive town and city halls, these palatial school-houses, and these soldiers'

monuments, which are now built and in building all around us, by funds procured by the issuing of bonds, to be paid in the future? The old education law which won honor, thrift and many other blessings for this State, required that the children living on its soil should receive at the public charge a simple and substantial training in the arts of reading, writing and cyphering. It was rightly judged that the spur of necessity and self interest would incite every boy and girl to help the teacher in the work of imparting these humanities; and it was known that the average intellect of young persons, here at least, admitted of that measure of culture. Endowed academies, the bounty of friends, and the earnest struggles of the pupils were looked to, and, as experience proved, were justly looked to and found sufficient, to aid on to a higher education those of the youth of a community who showed themselves earnestly desirous of it and capable of acquiring and appreciating it. Now we build palaces for school-houses, on borrowed money; we furnish them with all modern elegancies; we profess to teach in them art, science, philosophy, chemistry, singing and the piano. In the true spirit of an equal rights doctrine, we construct and adopt a system for these schools founded on the supposition that all the pupils will—as they are all entitled to—avail themselves of all these means of accomplishment. Whereas they are completely thrown away except on a very small minority of the pupils. Here again any of our associates who may favor us with a paper on “Town Debts,” may perhaps plead that these very children when grown up—the few who profit by, and the many who slight, these school opportunities—will find the debts for the school-houses and the pianos maturing about the time they become tax-payers, and will have to pay for them.

And as to Soldiers’ Monuments: I have recently seen, on a southern tour, some of these monuments in memory and honor of those who fell on the other side. In looking at them the question recurred to my mind, which I have more than once heard discussed by those who differ in opinion about it, whether, if we are henceforward to be one people, it is wise to sow our land with these costly and perhaps irritating memorials of strife. But leaving that question aside another arises, as to whether we, or our posterity, should pay for those monuments in case they are erected. And I cannot but think that if we are to leave the payment of

them to posterity, we should leave to them the building of the monuments likewise. I chanced to read in a newspaper, only yesterday, that a soldiers' monument was nearly completed in one of our cities, for a score or more thousands of dollars, in payment of which bonds were issued, payable by the next generation. Is this too wholly right? That when time and our hard climate and perhaps mischief, have impaired the beauty of the structure, and when perhaps other struggles and convulsions of the country have laid new burdens upon them, the generation then living, many, it may be a majority, being only temporary residents in the place, shall be called upon to pay for it? Is it not somewhat as if a man should erect a costly monument to his deceased wife and leave to his grand-children the duty not only of keeping it in repair, but also of meeting the first expense of it?

I may have spoken too much upon one side of the subject, which I simply proposed to suggest as one of interest to us in this Society. May I ask that at some time it be treated or discussed among us?

At the close of Dr. Ellis' remarks, it was

Voted, That the history and progress of Town Debts be recommended to the members of the Society for investigation.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., read some interesting extracts from manuscript notes of Mr. Prendergast, which he spoke of as the result of original and independent investigations, some of the authorities being unpublished, relating to Sir George Downing, a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1642. To his personal force and influence was due the passage of the Appropriation Act of 17th Charles II., an act unsurpassed in English legislation for bold statesmanship and political value. Then the Crown surrendered the purse strings to parliament, and this was the guarantee of constitutional government.

Dr. EDWARD JARVIS made some observations showing the

result of statistical investigation as to the years of labor to be expected from individuals of the different races and nationalities, which he said he intended, at a future time, to present to the Society at greater length.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society have the pleasure of reporting to the members that its affairs continue in prosperous condition; the increase of the collections in its library has been considerable, five hundred and fifty-two books and twenty-nine hundred and thirty-eight pamphlets having been added since the meeting in October.

For the details of these, and the condition of the funds, reference is made to the reports of the Librarian and Treasurer, which accompany this report.

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, a member of this Society, died on the day after its last annual meeting. His scientific researches, especially in the department of geology, had gained him a high place among the original investigators of the age; while he had become known most widely and gained a higher place in the popular affection by his persistent faith in the safety of Dr. Livingstone; a faith he maintained when all others despaired, in the face of disappointment, in despite also of ridicule for a confidence which subsequent events have shown was not ill-founded.

He was born in Tarradale, Ross-shire, Scotland, February 19, 1792; educated at the grammar school of Durham and the Military Academy of Marlowe, and passed through a brief

course at the University of Edinburgh. Receiving a commission in the army, he accompanied Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal, in 1808; was present at the battles of Vimiera and Corunna, and at Sir John Moore's retreat; served subsequently on the staff of Sir Alexander McKenzie in Sicily, rose to the rank of Captain of Dragoons, married at the age of twenty-three, and thereupon abandoned the profession of arms. It was not at once, however, that his devotion to scientific pursuits began. For some years he passed the principal portion of his time in the recreations of foreign travel and in field sports, yet devoting himself at intervals to the study of geology, to which he had already become strongly attached. Even his pastimes, however, convey a suggestion of future eminence, for he was accustomed to select as the companion and associate of his pleasures, Sir Humphrey Davy. It was not till 1823, when he had reached the mature age of thirty years, that, influenced in no small degree by the suggestions of a thoughtful and affectionate wife, he began to devote that strict attention to scientific pursuits which laid the foundation of his future fame. At that day the science of geology was in its infancy. It became his chosen specialty, and his first scientific paper was a geological sketch of Sussex, Hampshire and Surrey. Probably much of his continued interest in this subject was due to his association with Sir C. Lyell, with whom many of his hours of study and speculation were passed, and with whom he made a tour in 1828, of which three memoirs were subsequently published. In 1838 his first great work, "The Silurian System," was published, which attracted marked attention; but its fame was overshadowed by the publication of that greater work, in

1845, after laborious years of excursion and exploration, on the "Geology of Russia in Europe." This work, which he had prepared in conjunction with M. de Verneuil and Count Von Keyserling, was translated into the Russian language, and Mr. Murchison was made a knight of the Russian order of St. Stanislas. The Royal Society of London conferred on him, as the author of the Silurian System, the Copley medal, while royalty paid him the perhaps less distinguished honor of knighthood. Nine or ten years after "Siluria" was added to his contributions to scientific research and heightened his fame still farther in the department of geology.

These were his leading and perhaps best known works, but his contributions to the transactions of learned societies and the columns of scientific journals were numerous and valuable. Agassiz and Strickland give a catalogue of more than a hundred of them. His labors were incessant, and as late as 1860, when he had reached the age of sixty-eight years, he finished an examination of the Scottish Highlands, which called for the publication of a new geological map of those regions, and for the award by the Royal Society of Edinburgh of the first Brisbane medal. He visited in the course of his investigations almost every region of Europe, from the Oural mountains to the Cornish coast, and from Italy to the palæozoic rocks of Scandinavia. Nor were these explorations and investigations barren and unfruitful, judged even by the practical standard of the present day. From a description of the configuration of the mountains and an inspection of some rocks of Australia, he instituted a comparison between the structure of the southern portion of that continent and the regions of

Russia bordering on the Oural mountains. From his examination he predicted that gold would be discovered in Australia. This prediction was like those of Cassandra, the truth, proclaimed to deaf and unbelieving ears. He urged in vain upon the Cornish miners to search for gold there, and equally in vain upon the government to give to the subject its earnest attention. He made no impression, but seven years after the prophecy was uttered, it met its complete fulfilment. From the inspection of a geological map of Cape Colony, he developed a theory of the geographical configuration of the Continent of Africa, which was subsequently signally confirmed by the explorations and discoveries of Dr. Livingstone.

There were very few learned Societies in Europe of which SIR RODERICK was not an active or corresponding member. He was one of the founders of the British Association for the advancement of Science, and its President; President of the Royal Geological and Royal Geographical Societies; and, though he had reached the full limit of human days, was, at the time of his death, Director-General of the Geological Society of Great Britain, and Director of the Metropolitan School of Science in Mining and Arts.

It should be added to the perpetual honor of SIR RODERICK, that, however high his attainments, he never lost his interest in the popularization of science, an end to which much of his contribution to the scientific journals was directed, and that his religious faith, unlike that of one at least of his eminent contemporaries, so far from being impaired by his scientific investigations, grew brighter and stronger with each new step of discovery. In his controversial writings he defended the truths of religion, as not only not in con-

flict with, but confirmed by the teaching of science; and in the closing hours of life he found those truths his rod and staff of comfort.

The writer of the last report of the Council, in suggesting for the consideration of the Society the History of the Pacific Ocean and its Shores, presented a subject of surpassing interest, whether considered in its political, commercial or religious aspects, in view of the wealth that ocean has poured into the lap of nations, the new civilization which has been born upon its eastern, or the old civilization which has been regenerated and born again upon its western shore, or of its opening as the great highway for the fleets of the future, where once a single galley a year was too much to transact the business of an association which had the monopoly of its trade.* Here already, on what the venerable Hakluyt calls "the back side of America," a city has arisen, whose civilized and corporate existence hardly passes the period of a generation, which rivals, in its present development and in the prospect of the early future, the glory of the most famous seats of the world's wealth and commerce, and which already, in the enthusiastic language of Humbert, as "the Queen of the Pacific, stretches her arms to Mexico and British Columbia, to China and Japan."

Almost any one of the many sub-divisions of this great subject, followed out in even moderate detail, would prove,

*The rapidity with which the commerce finding its way over the Pacific has increased in the past decade, finds an illustration in the following summary from official figures, relating to the trade carried on in American vessels between this country and Japan.

In 1860 that trade amounted to but \$193,861. In 1866 it had increased to \$884,122; while in 1869 it amounted to \$5,125,645. The total tonnage of the United States entered at the five open ports of Japan in 1869 was 509,098, which, it may be added, was nearly half of all the foreign tonnage of those ports.

developed by a skilful hand, of sufficient interest,—and even by an awkward and unskilful one, of sufficient volume,—for a report of this kind. Consider for example the discovery of California and that of the Bay of San Francisco, with the circumstances which led to and attended them, leaving wholly out of view those which followed upon them; "*non sectari rivulos sed petere fontes.*"

It was said "Cortez discovered California; he did not discover the South Sea." The truth of this second declaration is well established, that of the former can also be admitted, but with qualification and explanation. Cortez did not discover the California of to-day, that is, New or Upper California. That was reserved for an humbler person, whose name is forgotten, except by the student of those times and voyages. But that Cortez was the original discoverer of Lower California, the California of the sixteenth century, cannot be stated without qualification. In a note in the Political Essay on New Spain, Humboldt says he found in a manuscript preserved in the archives of the Vice Royalty of Mexico, that California was discovered in 1526. He is not, however, satisfied with the authority for this assertion, and adds that extracts made by the author of the *Relacion del viage al Estrecho de Fuca*, from the valuable manuscripts found in the Academy of History, at Madrid, seem to prove that California had not even been seen in the expedition of Mendoza in 1532.* Setting aside these alleged discoveries as wholly apocryphal, the established facts are these: In 1534 Cortez, at his own expense, fitted out two ships, under the command of Hernando Grixalva, and Diego Becerra de

* Venegas also alluded to this expedition, but does not claim that it saw California.

doza, the latter a relative of his own, to explore the coasts north of Tehuantepec, whence the vessels sailed. Humboldt states that Grixalva discovered the coast of California, but this statement seems to be an error. The vessels, after leaving Tehuantepec, were separated in the night. Grixalva, sailing northwards some three hundred leagues, reached a desert island near the coast of California, supposed to be one of the group known at the present day as the Revillagigedos. He made no further discoveries and soon returned. Becerra, continuing on his voyage after the separation of the ships, was murdered by his crew, led on by the pilot Ximenes. After his death Ximenes took the command, touched the peninsula of California, and landed at the bay of St. Cruz, now la Paz. Thus was Ximenes the discoverer of Lower California, whom, however, retributive justice did not suffer to return to receive the honors of that discovery. The expedition was attacked by the Indians, and Ximenes slain. The survivors of the expedition returned with the ship, and, giving an account of what they had seen, said it was "a goodly country, well peopled, and had many pearl beds along the coast."

The events related above all occurred within the year 1534, and it was not till 1535 that Cortez "firmly persuaded," says Venegas, "that the Moluccas were at no great distance from the western coast, and that in the intermediate space he should meet with rich islands and countries, determined to make one last attempt and not to commit it to captains, but to go himself in person." Giving public notice of his intention, he obtained a numerous following, sailed with three ships, found at Chimetla that in which Ximenes' sailors had returned, annexed that to the

expedition, sailed northward for the newly discovered land and entered the "Vermillion Sea." On the first of May, 1536, he landed for the first time in California, at the Bay of St. Cruz, where the unhappy Ximenes had been killed. The details of this expedition, its disasters and disappointments and the return of Cortez to New Spain, need not be recited, nor the subsequent explorations of Francisco de Ulloa, who, still at the expense and under the auspices of Cortez, continued the exploration of the gulf and nearly reached the mouth of the Colorado.

To Cortez then cannot be awarded the honor of being in person the discoverer of California. The expedition which he conducted added nothing to the information which the sailors of Ximenes had brought back. Some important contribution to geographical knowledge was made by that of Ulloa, in the glory of which, as in that of Ximenes, Cortez, their patron, is entitled to a leading share. But clouds were now gathering to obscure the setting of that sun which had "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." To procure funds for the last expedition, Cortez had been obliged to borrow money, and even to pawn his wife's jewels. New projects of discovery, which by their results were to atone for all past disappointments, were foiled by the claims of the viceroy Mendoza to the right to discover El Dorado. His appeal to Spain for vindication and indemnification for the expenses of these maritime expeditions, his experience of the same ingratitude which awaited Columbus, who also had deserved too greatly of his sovereign, his last touching memorial to the Emperor, the utterances of a proud but broken spirit, the sickening pang of hope deferred which he endured for the three closing

years of his life, the attempted return to new projects of discovery, and the last scene of all to close this strange, eventful history, are familiar knowledge, and are alluded to here only as following closely on, and intimately associated with the relations of Cortez to the discovery of California.

It is a curious illustration of the manner in which the truths of geographical discovery, once established, may become corrupted and mixed with varying shades of error, that while, after the discoveries of Cortez and Ulloa were made, a very correct impression as to the outlines of the peninsula of California prevailed, in the course of little more than half a century that impression had wholly changed, and the opinion was entertained among geographers that California was an island. The earliest map, cited in several places by Humboldt and also by Prescott and other historians, is that prepared by the pilot Domingo del Castillo, in 1541. On it the outlines of California are defined as those of a peninsula, and substantially as we know them at the present day.

The statement of a recent writer, however, that this fact was "wholly forgotten for one hundred and sixty years," is not strictly accurate and must be corrected. It was indeed one hundred and sixty years from the publication of Castillo's map to the date of Father Kino's re-discovery of the connection between California and the continent of America, but it was not for many years after that publication that the peninsular theory ceased to obtain. The course of the impressions on this subject may be traced on the successive maps of the sixteenth century, and it will not be deemed out of place to cite a few of these, citations which can readily be verified, as

sketches from them are in the possession of this Society. The map from Ptolemæus de Roscelli, 1544, (Kohl's manuscript map,) though connecting America with Asia by so broad a belt that they might well be called one country, and abrogating almost entirely the North Pacific, yet gives an approach to the correct outline of California, preserving the peninsular conformation. Furlani's map of 1560 gives the outlines with much closer accuracy, though it makes the Colorado river flow from the interior portion of Asia round the whole North Pacific, and places "Cimpaga" within 20 degrees of California. Faltieri's map, 1566, still adheres to the peninsular idea, and Furlani's of 1574, though in the latter the direction has changed, and the peninsula extends from the main land towards the southwest, and "Giapan" fills almost the entire space between China and California. Frobisher, in 1578, though presenting the American continent in grotesque configuration, yet preserves the peninsular outline of California, while Herrera, in 1600, returns to a close adherence to that of Furlani, in 1560. It may be regarded as one of the curiosities of geography that a configuration substantially accurate, and established by a succession of delineators through sixty years, should have been wholly lost; for Purchas, in 1625, sets it forth as a "goodly island" on his map, saying, however, that it was "sometye supposed to be a part of y^e western continent." That the impression of Purchas was that of the seventeenth century will readily be seen by an inspection of the maps of that century.*

* An interesting chapter on this subject may be found in Buache's "*Considerations Géographiques et Physiques*", from which the following extract is taken. The whole chapter will be found suggestive and valuable:—

"Quand on eût ainsi réduit la Californie à ses justes bornes, et qu'on

The length of this extract precludes farther quotation. Buache's concise review of the subject is extremely interesting.

To return, however, to the discovery of Upper California. Cortez, worn out with controversy and delay, had returned to Old Spain, and Mendoza remained viceroy of New Spain. Under his auspices, California was discovered by Juan Roderigo Cabrillo. This voyage was one purely of discovery, and its history is briefly this: Cabrillo sailed from Navidad on the 17th of June, 1542, touched the peninsula at the bay where Ximenes and Cortez had landed, coasted along the western shore of the peninsula, saw land first in Upper California in 33° , in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ saw hills covered

eût reconnu, surtout en 1603 (par la Navigation de Sébastien Biscayen et Martin d'Aguilar) que la Mer retournoit en Orient un peu au delà du 43° degré, plusieurs Espagnols se persuaderent que les Eaux de la Mer du Sud communiquoient par là avec celles de la Mer-Vermeille, qui est entre la Californie et le Nouveau Mexique: en conséquence ils firent de la Californie une Isle.

Cependant il y avoit longtemps que les premiers Géographes Modernes, d'après les Navigations de François d'Ulloa et Hernand de Alarçon, dans la Mer-Vermeille en 1539 et 1540, (rapportées dans Herrera et Laet) représentoient la Californie telle que nous la connoissons aujourd'hui; c'est-à-dire comme une Presqu'Isle. [NOTE. Ortelius, Mercator, Hondius, etc. qui furent suivis par Cluvier, Berdius, Laet, Blaen, etc., en un mot tous les meilleurs des premiers Géographes Modernes.]

Il est vrai que Laet observe que dès 1539 il y avoit eu des Espagnols qui s'étoient imaginé que c'étoit une Isle: et il dit (en 1633) avoir vu de vieilles Cartes qui la représentent de cette façon et la séparent de l'Amérique par un Détroit assez large au Sud, mais qui s'étrécit en avançant vers le Nord. Néanmoins il se détermine sur l'autorité d'autres Cartes et sur les Navigations dont je viens de parler, à la faire regarder comme une Presqu'Isle baignée à l'Est par la Mer-Vermeille ou Rouge, "nom qui fut donné à ce Golfe à cause de sa ressemblance avec la Mer qui sépare l'Arabie de l'Égypte," dit Wytfliet. Ce dernier auteur ne paroît pas avoir eu le moindre doute au sujet de la Californie qu'il représente comme une Presqu'Isle, ainsi que nos autres Anciens Géographes.

Les Hollandois ayant pris en 1620 sur un Vaisseau Espagnol une carte de l'Amérique où la Californie étoit figurée comme une Isle et la

with trees and a cape running into the sea at the end of them which he called St. Martins, and, about the 40th degree, mountains covered with snow, and between them a large cape, which he named in honor of the Viceroy, Mendozino, the name it has borne to this day. It is not essential to the present purpose to detail the voyage at greater length, since it is not known to have been the subject of historic controversy. Cabrillo had been a pilot of Cortez; he was the discoverer of New California; and thus the name of Cortez becomes again associated with one of the most significant events in the history of the Pacific Ocean and North America.

But who discovered the Bay of San Francisco and the Golden Gate? In the discussion which followed the reading of the last report of the council it was conceded that Sir

Mer-Vermeille comme un Détroit; on suivit cette idée comme certaine dans les cartes que l'on fit ensuite en Hollande et en Angleterre. La Mappe-monde de Dankerts et de Tavernier, dédiée à Louis XIII en 1628 copia cette prétendue *Nouvelle Découverte* en France. Sur la Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale que Janssonius donna à Amsterdam dans son Atlas en 1640, Tom III. et V. la Californie est aussi représentée comme une Isle, finissant un peu au dessus du Cap Mendocin d'aujourd'hui; mais ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que pour en rendre raison, l'on y a mis une Note, ou après être convenu que les premiers Géographes ont toujours fait la Californie partie du Continent, on assure avoir découvert par la Carte Espagnole qui étoit entre les mains des Hollandois; que la Californie étoit une Isle longue de 1700 lieues, depuis le Cap Saint Lucas jusqu'au Cap Mendocin et large de 500.

Or il est impossible de concilier ces distances avec la Californie que Janssonius représentoit en même tems comme terminée au Cap Mendocin d'aujourd'hui; c'est-à-dire, réduite à ses justes bornes: cependant c'étoit la preuve qu'on apportait du changement, en Hollande même on étoit la Carte Espagnole sur laquelle on appuyoit une correction si importante. Personne ne fit attention à la caducité et l'inconséquence de cette preuve; et depuis ce tems, Mrs. Sanson, père et fils, Duval et quantité d'autres Géographes représentèrent toujours la Californie comme une Isle, quoique cela ne fût pas constant parmi les Espagnols, qui la représentoient diversement comme on l'a vu, par le témoignage de Laet."

Francis Drake did not see the Golden Gate, nor enter the Bay. It is not proposed to disturb the conclusion then reached, which is undoubtedly that of the majority of students of the subject to-day. And yet so high an authority as Davidson, in his *Coast Pilot*, and a recent reputable local historian, having adopted the opposite conclusion, it is not improper to state the considerations which may be adduced in support of one and the other opinion. It is claimed on the one hand, *that Sir Francis Drake, if he had really entered the bay, could not have failed to be so impressed with its excellence as in the account of his voyage, to make mention of its wonderful configuration and its admirable adaptation to the uses of commerce, and also that he could not have failed to give such an idea of its form and size to the geographers, that the English maps made after his day, in designating Sir F. Drake's Bay, would have indicated, in some degree at least, that form and size which it will be seen on examination none of them do. These considerations, though significant, would not be entitled to great weight, were there no bay but that of San Francisco which would fulfil the terms of Drake's description. But the bay known familiarly as Jack's Harbor, and on the maps as Sir Francis Drake's Bay, does answer every requirement of that description. Its latitude corresponds precisely with that of the chronicler, while the Golden Gate lies several miles to the South. The words "fair and good bay," which would indeed be inadequate as an expression of the quality of San Francisco Bay, by no means inadequately express the quality of this. It is of this bay that Davidson, in the *Coast Pilot of California*, says: "This curving shore line affords a large and admirable anchorage in heavy northwest

weather, and by anchoring close in under the north side of the point in four or five fathoms, hard bottom, good but contracted anchorage is obtained in southeast gales, as the swell rolling in from the southwest is broken by the reef." The white cliffs, from which Drake named the region New Albion, are found around this bay, but not around the Golden Gate. The conies, large numbers of which Drake found about his anchorage, are said to abound to this day around "Jack's Harbor." Nor is an argument to be derived from the improbability that Sir Francis should have passed so near to the Golden Gate as he must have done, without seeing it. Its entrance is somewhat obscure. The mountain range, instead of drawing nearer and nearer to the sea as the navigator proceeds northward, suggesting an anchorage beyond the point where it reaches the water, is here abruptly broken, so that an anchorage would not be looked for here, by one who, in ignorance of the coast, approached from the south. Moreover, fogs and thick weather prevail abundantly there during a great portion of the season.

The considerations to be urged in favor of the opposing view, though potential were there no bay but San Francisco, to which Drake's description could be applied, must, in view of the suggestions made above, be deemed inadequate.

It is urged that the discrepancy in the latitudes may be taken as disposed of, being trifling, and that the statement is fully as accurate as could be expected from the rude instruments of that day. Drake does not, it is true, extol the quality of the harbor; but wealth and pillage, not harbors, were the object of his expedition. There are no white cliffs at the Golden Gate; but it was to the whole country

he gave the name of "New Albion." And as to the quality of the harbor, he paid higher tribute to it than that of words. It was his peaceful anchorage for thirty-six days. Fletcher, the chaplain, groaning in general over the inclemencies of the coast, finds no fault with the experience of those five weeks. Where so probably as in the Bay of San Francisco could their comforts of peaceful anchorage be found? In Puerto de Bodega, which Humboldt fixes as the location, or in the curve of the coast under the lee of Point Reyes, marked on the modern maps as Sir Francis Drake's Bay?

The above is perhaps a fair statement of the considerations which may be adduced in support of the opinion that Sir Francis Drake was the discoverer of the bay. It will be seen that they constitute simply an attempt to reconcile his description with the characteristics of the bay of San Francisco, on the assumption that there is no other bay to which the description more closely conforms. Their conclusiveness not being admitted, to whom shall the honor of this discovery be awarded? Not to Cabrillo, for his journal does not recount any such observation. Not to Ferrel, his pilot, who, after Cabrillo's death, continued the expedition, and returning in 1543, is said to have seen what he thought to be the mouth of a large river from which, steering So. E. & E. So. E. he soon sighted Point Pinos. This account is not deemed wholly reliable, and even if the mouth of the river was the Golden Gate, he did not discover the bay. Greenhow, in his Northwest Coast, expresses the opinion that Viscaino entered the bay and that it was then well known. The opinion of so high an authority as Greenhow is entitled to great respect, and yet in the pres-

ent instance it is to be inquired whether it can be sustained. It is probably based on the passage in Torquenada's account of Viscaino's voyage, but it may be doubted whether a careful consideration of the passage will justify the conclusion. The point is interesting. The language of Torquenada, adopting the translation accompanying Venegas' History, is as follows :

"The Capitana and tender had no sooner left the harbor of Monterey, than they had a favorable wind, which, lasting till twelfth day, carried them beyond *Port St. Francisco*. But the day after, which was the 7th of January, the wind shifted to the N. W., but blowing an easy gale, still made some way ; and the tender, considering that there was no necessity for standing in for the shore, continued her voyage ; and the Capitana, thinking that they went in company, did not show any light ; by which means in the morning they had no sight of each other, and the general in the Capitana returned to *Port St. Francisco* to wait for the tender, which he supposed was making all the sail possible after him ; but the first account they had of the tender was not till after the Capitana's return from the voyage. Another reason which induced the Capitana to put into *Puerto Francisco* was to take a survey of it and see if any thing was to be found of the San Augustin, which in the year 1595 had, by order of his majesty and the viceroy, been sent from the Philippines by the governor, to survey the coast of California, under the direction of Sebastian Roderiguez Cernemmon, a pilot of well known abilities, but was driven ashore in this harbor by the violence of the wind. Among others on board the San Augustine was the pilot Francisco Volanos, who was also chief pilot of this

squadron. He was acquainted with the country and affirmed that they had left ashore a great quantity of wax and several chests of silk, and the general was desirous of putting in here to see if there remained any vestiges of the ship and cargo. The Capitana came to an anchor behind a point of land called *La Punta de los Reyes*; but no people were sent ashore, that the ship might be in readiness for the tender, and accordingly on the day following the Capitana sailed out in quest of her." Thus far Torquenada.

Now Viscaino's voyage was made in 1602-3. It was undertaken expressly to survey the coast, not only with a view to discover the famous straits of Anian, leading from Newfoundland to the South Sea, but to find harbors where vessels might seek refuge, in their passage from China or the Philippine Islands, from the storms which were violent and frequent on that coast. This was the object of Philip II. in originally ordering the expedition, and of Philip the III. in renewing the instructions. It was an expedition then in search of harbors. Venegas could not find Viscaino's maps and charts, but Torquenada's account is minute. It describes the points touched at and the harbors worthy of report. For example, a full and enthusiastic account is given of the harbor of Monterey. Now, bearing in mind the object of the expedition, is it probable that the harbor of Monterey would be dwelt upon in terms of enthusiastic description, and a bare allusion suffice for the magnificent bay of San Francisco, to which, as a secure retreat from storms and buccaneers, the harbor of Monterey would not for a moment be compared? The case presented is one as to the sufficiency of internal evidence. If, judging from the object of the expedition

and the character of the reports of it, there cannot be a reasonable doubt that this bay would have been described if seen, the absence of all such description places it beyond reasonable doubt that it was not seen.

It seems that Greenhow, if misled, must have been misled by the use of the words "Port St. Francisco." But the whole passage must be taken together, and taken together it would seem clearly to import that putting into Port San Francisco, and coming to an anchor behind the *Punta de los Reyes* were one and the same thing. Now the water behind the *Punta de los Reyes* is Sir Francis Drake's bay, as indicated on the modern maps. That this bay was known to the Spaniards as early as 1595 is evident from the fact that the *San Augustine* was lost there, and it was to look for her that Viscaino went behind the *Punta*. But how came they to know it as San Francisco Port? The writer of this report is of the opinion that this arose from the reports which had reached them of Sir Francis Drake's visit and discovery, that the Francisco was suggested by the Francis, and the San, either from the fondness for giving that prefix as often as possible, or from a willingness to avail themselves of an opportunity to associate with the discovery the name of so favorite a saint. A confirmation of this idea may perhaps be added from Purchas's map of 1625. On that map this region of the coast, rudely and inaccurately delineated, is marked, Po. Sr. Francisco Draco.*

It may be added that Davidson, in the *Coast Pilot*,

* A further argument may be drawn from probabilities as to the locality of the wreck of the *San Augustine*, for which Viscaino sought. The argument need not be stated. A glance at the map of the coast, and at the charts and observations in Davidson's *Coast Pilot* will sufficiently indicate it.

asserts, without preliminary argument, that Drake's Bay is the Port Francisco of the Spaniards.

The result of this consideration seems to be, that, notwithstanding the opinion of Greenhow, Viscaino did not visit the Bay of San Francisco.

The discovery of this bay has been dwelt upon at what may seem undue length, but in truth it is the initial chapter of a history of surpassing interest, which must not pass without allusion, if not to be followed out in its detail here.

Commerce, seeking for its galleons a secure retreat from the storms and buccaneers of those coasts, and avarice united to replenish its coffers from the earth, "no part of which could be taken up wherein there is not some probable show of gold and silver," had failed to find it. It was the missionary, earnest, proselyting, self-denying and ambitious, who, advancing the triumphs of the cross over the failures and defeats of commercial and nautical science, made the first well authenticated discovery of the bay of San Francisco, and this was not till 1769, one hundred and ninety years after Drake's visit to those coasts.

The details of this discovery need not be set forth. It was made by a party of Franciscans, and the Franciscans were the successors of the Jesuits of California.

Before passing, however, from this subject, it may be interesting to inquire how it happened that the same name should have been assigned to two bays so near to each other as those of the San Francisco of the early Spaniards, and the San Francisco of to-day. There is a legend that when the Franciscans started on their expedition to establish missions in Upper California the Ventador gave to Father Junipero a list of names of saints to be assigned to

the missions that should be established. But on this list the name of St. Francis did not appear, an omission which shocked his devoted disciple. "Is not our dear father St. Francis to have a mission assigned him?" "If he wants one let him show you a good port and he shall have one there." When the missionaries, journeying northwards from Monterey, arrived on the shore of this glorious bay, they exclaimed, "Here then the Saint has led us, blessed be his name!" and that name they accordingly assigned to the mission and bay.

A simpler and more natural explanation, though embodying less of sentiment, may be this, the reasonableness of which may be judged by a glance at the map of California. These missionaries and the governor who conducted the expedition doubtless knew the general geographical situation, so far as it was understood at that day. They had travelled northward from the vicinity of Monterey, had, it is to be presumed, known of the voyage of Viscaino and his anchorage in Port San Francisco and the wreck of the *San Augustine* in 1595. May they not well have supposed, as they approached the bay from the inland, that they had come upon that anchorage, to which they conceded the name of San Francisco, as belonging to it for nearly two centuries? If this theory is admitted, it also satisfactorily disposes of the inference that Viscaino entered the Golden Gate, from Torquenada's mention of Port San Francisco.

The reasonable limit of this report has been reached; and the subject to which all that has been written was originally intended as but introductory, the missions of the Jesuits in California, has received only bare allusion. For some future

occasion must be reserved the consideration of the origin of these missions, the work they actually accomplished, and the results to which they ultimately led; how, after all the attempts made for two centuries by private individuals, governors, admirals, viceroys, and kings, to obtain a permanent footing in California had failed and its reduction and settlement been abandoned as impossible, zeal for religion accomplished results which love of conquest and love of gain had alike failed to secure; and how, in the language of the Spanish Venegas "God only seemed to wait till human force acknowledged its weakness, to display the strength of His almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world by means of the weakest instruments, it being the will of Heaven that this triumph should be owing to the meekness and courtesy of His ministers, to the humiliation of His cross and the power of His word." Kino, the favorite of the Bavarian court, abandoned his chair of mathematics at Ingolstadt for the wilderness of Sonora, not only to become the re-discoverer of the true outlines of California, but to organize the christian army of occupation there, and be the main spring of its efficiency and its base of supply. Salva-Tierra, the gentle but valiant commander of that army in the field, overcoming one by one, every obstacle, the opposition of the Society of Jesus, of the viceroy, of the Court of Madrid, obtained at last authority to undertake the mission on condition that he should take nothing from the public treasury and that he should take possession of the country in the King's name. And the missionaries proceeded, through labors, dangers and sufferings, to establish a foothold among the aboriginal tribes, who, like the multitudes of Judæa, came to listen to

their teachings, "not because they saw the miracles, but because they did eat and were filled." Ugarte, the muscular christian of the mission, supplemented the labors of Salva-Tierra. Carranco and Tamaral won their crowns of martyrdom, but finally, by the decree of Madrid, the Jesuits were driven out in mortification and disgrace from the fields they had fought and their brethren died to win.

Should some member of the Society be moved to take up and illustrate this subject, it would appear that the writer of the last report was fully justified in the statement that no chapter of the history of the Pacific is more interesting than that of its missions.

For the Council,

JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IN the Library Report presented at the meeting of the society in October the value of imperfect sets and odd numbers of periodicals as a means of completing series, and for purposes of exchange, was dwelt upon with some particularity.

Although the Proceedings including that report were not printed and distributed till very recently, the advantage of bringing to the notice of members and friends the fact that materials so cheaply collected, and so easily spared by them, were positively useful and desirable contributions to the library, has already been felt. When once suggested it is readily perceived that these gifts, regarded by themselves, need not possess a high degree of distinct and intrinsic importance in order to be valuable to the society; and we are beginning to receive donations of numbers of periodicals &c., with the remark that the donor has learned from our report that they would be acceptable—instead of the phrase more commonly employed, that, if they do not happen to supply a deficiency, they may at least serve to kindle fires.

There is another kind of historical supplies which it is equally desirable to collect and preserve in unlimited quantities, and which individuals are apt to gather as uncon-

sciously and inexpensively and can spare quite as easily as the former. I refer to what are technically called *Broadsides*, embracing all sorts of posters, advertisements, notices, programmes, and indeed whatever is printed on one side of a sheet of paper, large or small. Ballads and proclamations usually come within the definition. They are the legitimate representatives of the most ephemeral literature, the least likely to escape destruction, and yet they are the most vivid exhibitions of the manners, arts, and daily life, of communities and nations. Like coins and medals, like the emblems and inscriptions from the catacombs arranged in the galleries of the Vatican, like the rude scratches and scrawls on the walls in Pompeii, they imply a vast deal more than they literally express, and disclose visions of interior conditions of society such as cannot be found in formal narratives.

The late Edward Everett was deeply impressed with the importance of preserving such memorials; and when President of this society took pains to lay aside for its use advertising handbills, notices of meetings, cards of invitation to exhibitions and entertainments, programmes, orders of exercises, bills of fare, tax bills, and all the infinite variety of similar trifles, as well as the larger and graver classes of broadsides and posters. These were carefully arranged, and transmitted at regular periods to the library. They constitute a curious collection, and are sometimes personal and biographical in their nature. Other friends of the society have made similar contributions. The late Frederic W. Paine, his daughter Mrs. Sturgis, and his son Rev. George S. Paine, have been conspicuous contributors in this department. Our ever thoughtful Treas-

urer is constantly working for the good of the institution in this as in other ways. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop has at times made valuable gifts of the same character. Mr. William A. Smith, an associate, and Mr. Joseph Chase, a business man of Worcester, have had like favors acknowledged to them in previous reports, which they propose to repeat and continue. Smaller collections also frequently accompany gifts of more substantial literature.

This division of historic materials does not resemble the *church* which was reported as having no vacancy in its membership; but is ever open to accessions of every denomination, and from all denominations, upon the most liberal and catholic principles. All religious sects, all political parties, all business classes, are invited to leave their especial and peculiar offerings upon a common altar in our temple of History.

The Society of Antiquaries of London take a rational pride in their collection of broadsides. While there, in 1866, I looked over a portion of them, with Mr. Deane. In that year a catalogue of them was published, making a volume about the average size of their *Archæologia*. It is not without interest to us to know that the founder of this department was Thomas Hollis, whose liberality to Harvard College is made familiar to us by the book-marks in many of the best works of the library. He was the third of that generous family among the college benefactors, and directed his bounty towards the increase of the library. In a letter to Edmund Quincy, written in 1766, he speaks of his affection for the people of North America, and Massachusetts and Boston in particular, and his desire that the youth should receive a reasonable and

manly education. "With ideas of this kind," he says, "have I worked for the public library at Cambridge in New England, neither caring too exactly to remember how the last best library in all America was lost there, nor sparing toward it expense, labor or time." Yet our College was not the only, perhaps not the principal, object of his benefactions. He is said to have devoted more than half of his fortune to charities, to the encouragement of genius, and to the support and defense of liberty. Geneva, Venice, Leyden, Sweden, Russia, and the public library at Berne, shared his favors.

In 1756, five years after the incorporation of the Society of Antiquaries, they purchased at the sale of the books of their deceased president, Martin Folkes, two folio volumes of Proclamations, extending from Edward IV. to James I. That fact coming to the knowledge of Thomas Hollis, then of Lincoln's Inn, he presented to the society what is described as "a large and curious collection of State and other papers, from the time of Henry VIII. to Charles II., inclusive, in twelve folio volumes, which he had bought in one lot the same year, and which he supposed to be a part of the same original collection." This was the beginning of that department which, in later years, has been enriched by donations from fellows and friends of the society; and among them the gifts of his Royal Highness, the late Prince Consort, have been conspicuous.

Hardly any person, with or without culture, who should examine the catalogue, could fail to appreciate the historical interest and significance of the earlier broadsides there described—those, for example, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. The natural

impulse would be to exclaim, How curious! How they carry one back to the very period itself, and into the midst of the peculiar manners and customs of the people! What Hamlet says about "the body of the time, his form and pressure," would be pretty sure to be repeated, and an antiquarian relish be felt upon the least sensitive palate. But, in passing down through eras less remote, this enthusiasm would be apt gradually to subside, till the same excited reader, meeting with some modern handbills, might ask in astonishment, What, pray, is the use of preserving such things as these? He would find in the later pages the following titles:

"Munroe Co. Agricultural Society, N. Y. The Fair of the Munroe Co. Agricultural Society will be held at Rochester, Friday and Saturday, the 22d and 23d of September. Lists of prizes for Cattle, Sheep, Farm Implements, Dairy, Domestic Manufactures, &c."

"Bloomerism. Announcement of a Lecture, to be given by Mrs. Vernon, at the Court House, Kirton, on Female Costume. The Lecturer will appear in the New and Popular Bloomer Dress."

It would require a considerable effort of the imagination to carry the mind forward to a period when broadsides like these would seem equally suggestive and instructive as those of distant ages. Yet an intelligent observation of essential changes in the structure of society already initiated, and now in process of development, will assist in forming a realizing sense of the amount of meaning which even humbler symbols of contemporary life and action may contain. No Roman *secession*, of the gravest kind, was

fraught with such consequences as that which has recently borrowed and magnified the title. The abolition of slavery and serfdom, the emancipation of woman and establishment of her civil and political rights, the legal recognition of the dignity of labor and the claims of the laborers to a definite share of property, and direct influence in government, may be expected to work such changes in social habits and manners that the future student of history, a few centuries hence, may crave with an eagerness of which we have no adequate conception, the possession of the simplest exponents of the state of things when men and women, employers and operatives, wealth and production, rulers and subjects, held very different relations to one another. The philosophical writer will seek to trace in such expressive emblems the gradual alterations in public sentiment, popular morals, the rules of private and personal intercourse, visiting and fashionable etiquette, the forms and principles of union and organization for industrial, benevolent, or political purposes, by which the condition of the human race in communities had been totally reconstructed.

On the other hand, if it should happen that certain scientific views already asserted, should be more clearly established. If it should be made to appear that there are limits to the advancement in civilization of each distinctive race. That the Mongolian, Malay and African races can only reach a degree of culture consistent with moral and mental tendencies that are ineradicable, and capacities that have unchangeable boundaries; if it shall be demonstrated that civilization has attained to higher degrees only by the substitution of superior races for inferior ones, it is probable

that the crucial experiment will have been tried among ourselves.*

It is difficult to avoid the conviction, now prevalent at the South, that South Carolina will be abandoned by the whites and given up to the possession, as it is now surrendered to the rule, of the blacks; and that a similar result must follow in every State where the blacks have a great advantage of numbers. For a miracle seems necessary to render it possible for the two races to live together on terms of political equality under such circumstances. Coming generations will be better judges of this possibility than ourselves; and in any event the photographs, and caricatures even, in which the first mixed political assemblies are represented, will be to those generations priceless relics.

It may prove impracticable to prevent, by legislation, superior industry, or ability, or good fortune, from engrossing an unequal share of wealth and power; or to nullify by legal enactments the hereditary consequences of culture and training upon the intellectual and physical nature of man. There may be found insuperable difficulties in the way of aggregating against the influence of these the rights of less thrifty, more indolent, coarser, and less intelligent masses, to an enjoyment of the comforts and luxury of easy existence. However that shall be, the agitations of our time are prolific of forcible expressions of popular desire, often too forcible for sober history, which will be instructive to posterity.

* So far as at present can be seen, it seems that mankind has progressed not so much by advance within the limits of certain races as by the super position of more highly organized races over those of an inferior class."—*Fergusson on Rude Stone Monuments*, &c., p. 18 of *Introduction*.

It may be that no Victoria, even of the dynasty of Woodhull, will reign over these United States, administering a government purified in all its departments through the finer faculties of woman, conscious, perhaps, of natural superiority, but maintaining a spirit of peace and good will towards man. It may possibly be discovered, after trial, that the Creator made no mistake in constituting and constructing the sexes for different offices and duties, and allowing this difference to prevail through all the ages to the present.

It may be that occasional instances of fitness for masculine employments in the gentler sex, and occasional capacity for intellectual pursuits and the administration of affairs among the Indian or African races, will prove delusive as a measure of general ability to sustain such positions.

The effort to place the sexes side by side in all the occupations and experiences of out-door life, and thus elevate and refine stronger if coarser natures by subjecting more delicate if not weaker ones to similar influences, may prove futile; but the movement will, nevertheless, add a most interesting chapter to the history of enthusiasms, and be rich in signs and illustrations, wayside publications, which should not be left to the ordinary chances of ephemeral productions.

Our list of accessions will show the advantage resulting from a system of exchange, and from the labors of Mr. Barton, Assistant Librarian, in preparing material for that service. It will show also that we are making progress in our collection of local histories and genealogies not only through the assistance of Judge Thomas, heretofore mentioned as a standing resource, but by contributions like

those of Dr. Chandler, Mr. Clark of Cincinnati, and others having a particular interest in that department, and by means of favorable exchange. Rev. Mr. Hale, and Judge Thomas, and the family of Mrs. John Davis, have made liberal gifts of miscellaneous publications and periodicals. Our President has presented a unique memorial of Worcester, in the form of two very large broadsides, framed and glazed, containing over five hundred excellent photograph likenesses of prominent citizens. Dr. S. A. Green's neat and interesting monogram on Franklin's autobiography calls to mind the fact that there are among our manuscripts reminiscences of Franklin, by his associate and business partner, William Goddard, which exhibit some of the less amiable aspects of his character.

It has sometimes happened that friends of distinguished writers have endeavored to secure sets of their works as nearly complete as possible, for our library. Thus an officer of the Society, who does not wish to be named, but hopes the example may be followed, has recently obtained for our shelves a series of the publications of Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., who has wrought so successfully in the cause of religious education. These are in nine bound volumes.

The able representative in Congress from the Worcester district, Hon. Geo. F. Hoar has been as usual, unwearied in efforts to serve the society at Washington.

The additions of the last six months are not below the average in quality or quantity. Two hundred and seventy books, and two thousand four hundred and sixty-five pamphlets are gifts. Two hundred and twenty-eight books and four hundred and twenty-six pamphlets are the results

of exchange. Seven books and eighty-six pamphlets have been purchased, and forty-seven books have come from the bindery. We have received, besides, various photographs, eighteen lithographs and three maps.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report for the six months ending April 22d, 1872.

The Librarian's and General Fund, Oct. 20, 1871, was \$28,737.21

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 1,260.80

\$29,998.01

Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, \$1,235.95

Paid for taxes on Bank Stocks, . . . 235.14 1,471.09

Present amount of this Fund, 28,526.92

The Collection and Research Fund, Oct. 20, 1871, was \$13,341.46

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 529.05

13,870.51

Paid for Books, and part of Librarian's salary, 454.40

Paid for tax on Bank Stock, . . . 70.36 524 76

Present amount of this Fund, 13,345.75

The Bookbinding Fund, Oct. 20, 1871, was \$9,968.04

Received for dividends and interest since, . . . 317.70

10,285.74

Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary, and tax on Bank Stock, 385.66

Present amount of this Fund, 9,900.08

The Publishing Fund, Oct. 20, 1871, was \$10,869.88

Received for sale of Books, . . . 56.59

Received for dividends and interest, 404.96 461.55

11,331.43

Paid for printing annual Report, . . . 219.30

Paid on account of Publishing History of Printing, 806.00

Paid tax on Bank Stock, and incidentals, 46.19 1,071.49

Present amount of this Fund, 10,259.94

Amount carried forward, \$62,082.69

Amount brought forward,	\$62,082.69.
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1871, was. .	\$10,041.01
Received for dividends and interest since, .	280.15
Present amount of this Fund,	10,321.16
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1871, was.	\$642.46
Received for interest since,	18.27
Present amount of this Fund,	660.73
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , Oct. 20, 1871, was. . . .	\$1,092.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
Present amount of this Fund,	1,122.20
Total of the seven Funds,	\$74,136.78
Cash on hand included in foregoing statement, . .	<u>\$1,586.78</u>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,000.00
Railroad Stock,	5,600.00
Railroad Bonds,	5,700.00
United States Bonds,	1,600.00
City Bonds,	1,000.00
Cash,	226.92
	<u>\$28,526.92</u>

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,200.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	4,800.00
United States Bonds,	3,000.00
City Bonds,	500.00
Cash,	45.75
	<u>13,345.75</u>

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,700.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
Cash,	200.08
	<u>9,900.08</u>
Amount carried forward,	\$51,772.75

Amount brought forward, \$51,772.75
The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	4,000.00	
United States Bonds,	3,050.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	309.94	
		<u>10,259.94</u>

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$100.00	
Railroad Stock,	400.00	
Railroad Bonds,	700.00	
United States Bonds,	500.00	
City Bonds,	8,000.00	
Cash,	621.16	
		<u>10,321.16</u>

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	60.78	
		<u>660.78</u>

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Cash,	122.20	
		<u>1,122.20</u>

Total of the seven Funds, \$74,186.78

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 23, 1872.

I have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. I have also examined the Investments and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS, *Auditor.*

As the enquiry is often made, why a Society, having so large an invested fund as this, does not accomplish more in the way of publishing or in the purchase of books, it may be well to state the facts in the case.

Although the aggregate of the funds of the Society, as shown by the report, is over \$74,000, yet this amount being divided among seven different funds, most of which do not yield an income equal to its real necessities, the Society is not able to accomplish all that its members and the public would naturally expect.

For instance, the income from the Librarian's and General Fund is not sufficient to pay the entire salary of the Librarian and the Assistant, and the ordinary expenses of the Society, without encroaching upon the income from the Collection and Research and the Bookbinding Funds.

This reduces the available income of these funds, particularly the former, so that but little is left for the purchase of books. The Publishing Fund, though much increased during the past few years, is still inadequate to much more than meet the expense of printing the semi-annual reports.

This accounts for the frequent calls which have been made by the Council in their reports to the Society, for additions to the Publishing and other Funds.

Donors and Donations.

- CLARENDON HARRIS, Esq., Worcester.—The first twenty-six Reports of the Board of Directors of the State Mutual Life Assurance Company.
- Capt. GEORGE E. DAVIS, Burlington, Vt.—His paper on the Battle of Winchester.
- HON. GEORGE W. RICHARDSON, Worcester.—Twenty-seven pamphlets.
- HORACE WYMAN, Esq., Worcester.—Two Broad-sides.
- THOMAS C. AMORY, Esq., Boston.—His "Old Cambridge and New;" and "A Home of the Olden Time."
- MR. ALFRED W. DANA, Worcester.—One book and one pamphlet.
- REV. H. WETZEL, Woodstock, Va.—His Translation of Luther's Small Catechism.
- REV. JOHN J. POWER, Worcester.—His Second Report as Director of the Sisters of Mercy Hospital; and Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, for 1871-72, eight numbers.
- ISAAC SMUCKER, Esq., Newark, Ohio.—Pioneer Historical papers, Nos. 88-90.
- JOHN E. MASON, M.D., Washington, D. C.—An impression of a curious Seal, dug from the ground in Washington.
- REV. JOHN GREGSON, Worcester.—Six College pamphlets.
- CYRUS WOODMAN, Esq., Cambridge.—Bennett's map of Buxton, Maine.
- REV. D. T. TAYLOR, Rouse's Point, N. Y.—His "Science, and the Resurrection;" and twenty-four book Catalogues.
- J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., Worcester.—Twenty-five pamphlets; and one lithograph.

- ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Esq., Melrose. — Nine pamphlets.
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- EDWARD W. LINCOLN, Esq., Worcester. — Two vols. Pacific R. R. Survey; three Worcester Directories; fifty numbers English and American Magazines; ten miscellaneous pamphlets; and the Round Table, 1861–69.
- MR. CHARLES DEF. BURNS, New York. — Five numbers of the "American Antiquarian."
- COL. JOHN D. WASHBURN, Worcester. — A map of the city of Chicago.
- MISS SARAH F. EARLE, Worcester. — "The Index" for 1871.
- HON. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S. — Fifteen vols. Congressional Globe, 1869–71; three vols. Public Documents; and nine pamphlets.
- MISS GAY, Suffield, Conn. — The Connecticut Courant, for 1871.
- THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester. — Five vols. of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, 1869–72; eight Nos. of the National Bank Note Reporter; and parcels of the Worcester Spy, Evening Gazette, Palladium, Boston Advertiser, Commercial Bulletin, Evening Journal, and N. Y. Evening Post.
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MESSRS. RUSS & EDDY, Worcester.—Catalogue of their Picture Frame and Cornice Mouldings.

WIRT DEXTER, Esq., Chicago, Ill.—Twenty-one Reports of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, 1871-72.

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Messrs. GALES & SEATON, Washington, D. C., through Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR. — Volume One of the Congressional Globe.

Adjutant General CUNNINGHAM, Boston. — Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers, 1861-65, vol. 2.

Major L. A. H. LATOUR, Montreal, Canada. — Supplement to his *Annuaire de Ville-Marie* for 1864.

Hon. J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS, Washington, D. C. — The case of the United States, to be laid before the Tribunal of Arbitration to be convened at Geneva, under the Provisions of the Treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, concluded at Washington, May 8, 1871.

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- THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS. — Their Journal as issued.
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- GEORGE W. CHILDS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — The American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular, as issued.
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- HON. HILAND HALL, North Bennington, Vt. — His Vindication of
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Report.
- THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their third
Annual Report.
- THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Worcester. — The twelfth Annual
Report; and fifty files of newspapers.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — Twenty-three
Nos. of their Transactions.
- THE TRAVELERS' INSURANCE Co., Hartford, Conn. — Their Trav-
eler's Record as issued.
- HARVARD COLLEGE. — The Annual Reports of President and
Treasurer, 1870-71.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Transactions,
Vol. XIV., Part III.; and Proceedings, No. 87.
- YALE COLLEGE. — The Catalogue of the Officers and Students,
1871-72.
- THE VERMONT STATE LIBRARY. — The Transactions of the Ver-
mont Dairymen's Association, 1870-71.
- THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Fund Publication, No. 6.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, of London. — Their Proceedings,
Vol. V., Nos. I and II, Second Series.
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE. — The Canadian Journal, No. LXXV.
- THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Laws of the State of New
Hampshire, passed June session, 1871.
- THE TRUSTEES OF THE MANCHESTER CITY LIBRARY. — The
eighteenth Annual Report.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, Vol.
II., No. 4.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — List of books added from July, 1871, to January, 1872.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW BEDFORD. — Their twentieth Annual Report.

THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. — The thirty-sixth Annual Report.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY. — The Catalogue of Officers and Students for 1870-71.

• THE MAINE STATE LIBRARY. — The eleventh Annual Report.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION. — The Annual Reports, April, 1871.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY of Delaware. — The Catalogue of the Society, with its History, Constitution and By-Laws, and list of Members.

THE IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Annals for October, 1871.

THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES, of Philadelphia. — Their Proceedings for 1871, Part II.

THE BOSTON FREE LIBRARY. — The Bulletin as issued.

THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF ORANGE, N. J. — Their Constitution and By-Laws, third edition, December, 1871.

THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Bulletin, vol. III. pp. 113.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Annual Report for 1871.

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO. — A Reprint of vol. 1, part 1, of their Journal.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, of San Francisco. — Their nineteenth Annual Report.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, of New York. — Their Journal, vol. 1, No. 1.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, 1872; and their Register as issued.

THE HINGHAM AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — Their Transactions for the year 1871.

THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. — The Semi-Centennial Celebration of the South Carolina College.

- THE ALBANY INSTITUTE.**—Their Transactions, vol. 3 ; Proceedings, vol. 1, parts 1 and 2 ; Barnard's Address, 1837 ; and Mead's Address, 1871.
- THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—One book, and six historical pamphlets.
- THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.**—Catalogue of books added, 1871 ; the Annual Report of the Librarian ; and the Congressional Directory, January, 1872.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London.**—Their Journal, vol. XV. ; and Proceedings, vol. XL., Nos. 2, 3 and 4.
- THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY LIBRARY, West Point, N. Y.**—The Catalogue of the Library, 1853, with the supplement of 1860.
- THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS.**—Their Bulletin, vol. 2, No. 7, vol. 3, No. 1 ; and Hon. W. D. Kelley's Speeches, Addresses and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Collections, vol. X., 4th series.
- THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Their Collections, vol. XII. ; and one historical pamphlet.
- THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF CHRISTIANA.**—Seventeen of their publications.
- THE U. S. QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.**—The Roll of Honor, No. XXVI.
- THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.**—The Register for 1871.
- THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.**—Census Statistics, one bound volume ; and one pamphlet.
- THE U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT.**—The Finance Report for 1871.
- THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE.**—The Foreign Relations of the United States, 1871.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BOSTON SEMI-WEEKLY ADVERTISER.**—Their paper as issued.
- THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM.**—Their paper for 1871.

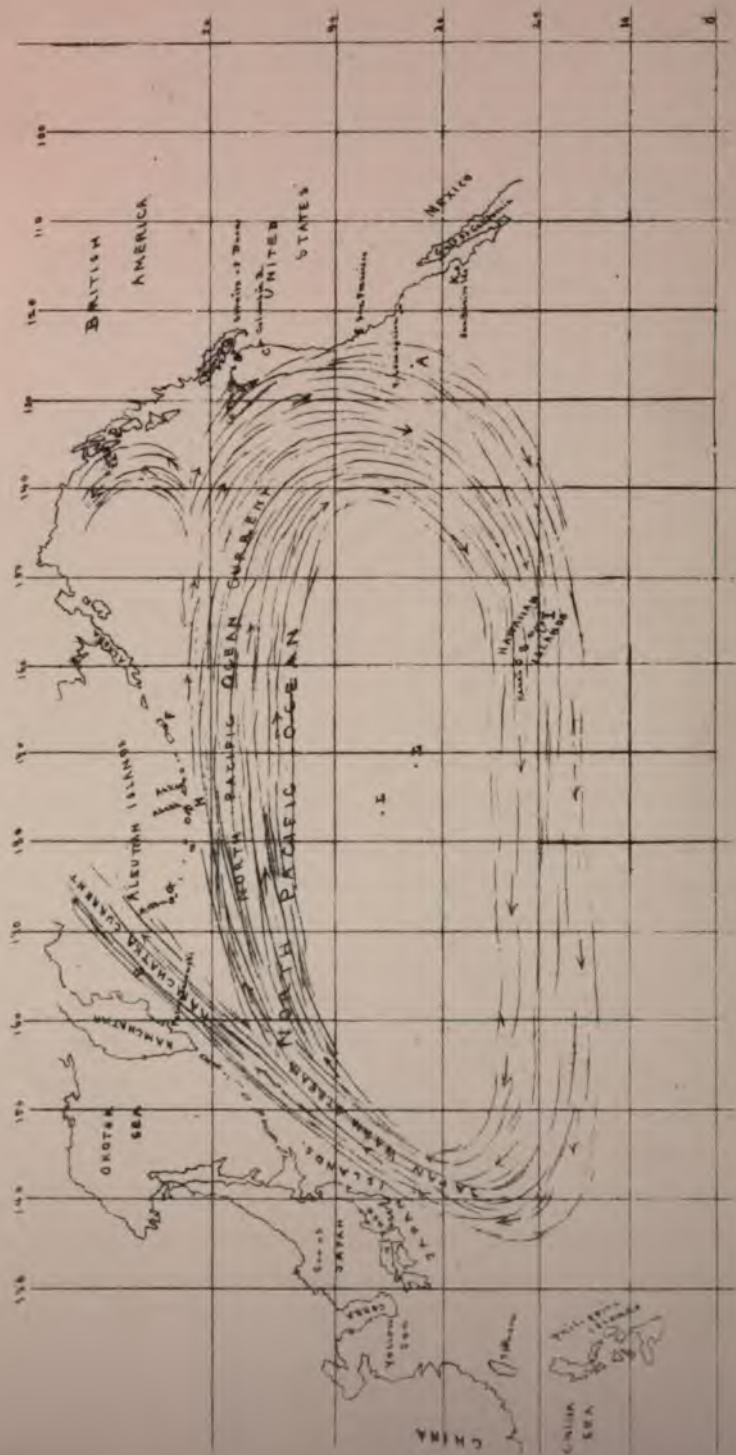
THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE.—Their papers as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY.—Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL.—Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE BARRE GAZETTE.—The paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETOR OF THE GOLDEN AGE.—The paper as issued.



ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN ADMIXTURE OF
JAPANESE BLOOD ON OUR NORTH-
WEST COAST.

BY HORACE DAVIS.

WITHOUT any speculation upon the origin of the Indian Tribes, I desire to bring together a few *facts* regarding the possibility of an admixture of Japanese blood on the north-west coast of America; and shall confine myself to this narrow point, leaving it for others to draw wider conclusions from these premises, or kindred facts.

The great North Pacific Ocean current is so well known as to need only the briefest description. Leaving the coast of Lower California between lat. 15° and 25° , the great Northern Equatorial Current crosses the Pacific in about that latitude. Towards the Asiatic Coast it is gradually deflected to the northward and sweeps by Japan in a well defined stream, called by the Japanese the "Kuro-Siwo," commonly termed the "Japan Warm Stream." Further north, about lat. 38° North, it divides, one part flowing northeasterly along the Coast of Asia, called the Kamtchatka Current, while the other portion, which more nearly concerns us, sweeps away to the eastward and crossing the Pacific Ocean south of the Aleutian Islands is deflected by the continent of America to the southward, and following its western shores, finally reaches the point of beginning.

A vessel dismasted off Japan would inevitably be drifted past the shores of Kamtchatka, or following the other branch would reach the neighborhood of the Continent of America.

This has actually happened in repeated instances. Within the ninety years which comprise the history of the N. W. Coast, several disabled Japanese vessels have reached our shores. Two have been wrecked upon the main land, four upon the islands now belonging to the United States, one upon islands immediately adjacent to Lower California, and one at least, if not two, have been boarded at sea but a short distance from our shores, and in every case of which we have record, living men were rescued from the wreck. It is my object simply to collect these incidents and present them in a connected form, giving in each case the original authorities, and such explanation as the case may require.

I shall quote first from Kotzebue's "Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits," London, 1821, Vol. 1. On page 324 he speaks of meeting at Honorara (Honolulu), Woahoo (Oahu), a brig in the royal Hawaiian service, named after Queen Kahumanna. She was built by the French as a privateer and named "La Grande Guimbarde." Having been taken by the English, she was sold to English merchants, who gave her the name "Forester of London." Capt. Piggott brought her out to the "South Sea" and sold her to Tamaahmaah (Kamehameha), King of the Hawaiian Islands. Capt. Alexander Adams, Capt. Piggott's second officer, then entered the King's service and became her commander. On page 352 Kotzebue says, "Capt. Alexander Adams dined with us to-day, whose con-

versation delighted us very much." And in a note, p. 353, he gives this interesting incident, "Looking over Adams' journal I found the following notice, 'Brig Forester, the 24th of March, 1815, in the sea, near the coast of California, lat. $32^{\circ} 45' N.$, long. $233^{\circ} 3' East$, [$57' W.$] During a strong wind from W. N. W. and rainy weather, we descried this morning at 6 o'clock, a ship at a small distance, the disorder of whose sails convinced us that it stood in need of assistance. We immediately directed our course to it, and recognized the vessel in distress to be a Japanese, which had lost her mast and rudder. I was sent by the Captain on board, and found in the ship only three (3) dying Japanese, the Captain and two sailors. I instantly had the unfortunate men carried to our brig, where they were perfectly recovered, after four months careful attendance. We learnt from these people that they came from the port of Osaco [Osaca], in Japan, bound to another commercial town, but had been surprised immediately on their departure, by a storm, and had lost their mast and rudder. They had been, up to this day, a sport of the waves for seventeen months; and of their crew of thirty-five men only three had survived, who would have died of hunger."

Prof. Geo. Davidson, in "Coast Pilot of Alaska," Washington, 1869, page 63, quotes this passage and says the position indicated is about 350 miles W. S. W. (compass), from Point Conception. Prof. Davidson adds, "supposing this junk to have kept on the S. side of the axis of the great current, and to have been carried directly down the American coast on the western part of this current, it must

have traversed 5,300 miles in 516 days, or a trifle over ten miles per day for that whole period."

The next instance I shall cite is to be found in Alexander Forbes' History of California, written at Tepic, 1838, published in London, 1839, part 2d, Upper California, chap. VII., pages 299-301. Forbes says, "The British brig Forester, bound from London to the river Columbia, and commanded by Mr. John Jennings, fell in with, in the year 1813, a Japanese junk of about 700 tons burden, one hundred and fifty miles off the northwest coast of America and abreast of Queen Charlotte's Island, about 49° of N. latitude. There were only three persons alive on board, one of whom was the captain. By the best accounts Capt. Jennings could get from them, they had been tossing about at sea for nearly eighteen months; they had been twice in sight of the land of America, and were driven off. Some beans still remained on which they had been sustaining themselves, and they had caught rain water for their drink. This vessel had left the northern coast of Japan loaded with timber for some of the islands to the southward, and had been blown off the coast by gales of wind. She had no masts standing, but in other respects was not much injured. Captain Jennings took the survivors on board of his vessel and delivered them at the Russian settlement of Norfolk Sound, the governor of which, owing to the friendship existing between Russia and the Japanese, sent a vessel on purpose with them to their own country."

The position here indicated is somewhat uncertain, as Queen Charlotte's Island lies between about 51° and 54° N. latitude, but in Forbes's time the geography of this coast

was uncertain. The identity of the name of the vessel, of the number of rescued men and of the length of the junk's voyage, leads to a suspicion that this may be the same as the last instance; but the differences are greater than the coincidence, viz: the Captain's name, the junk's port of departure, Osaca being at the southern end of Nippon, the wreck's position, over 1200 miles from that of Capt. Adams, and the year. Forbes was in California himself, and evidently from the minuteness of this account, gathered it from something more than mere rumor; he may have heard of the rescue by the "Forester" and confused the two events. It is very singular that no writer that I am aware of has ever noticed this remarkable story, and that Prof. Davidson is the only one who has cited the note from Kotzebue.

Capt. C. M. Scammon, of the U. S. Rev. Marine, who was the discoverer of the wreck I am now about to describe, has kindly furnished me with the following facts, contributed by himself to the Daily Alta California, of April 22, 1860. "In 1853 there was found on the southwest and largest of the San Benito Group, the remains of what was supposed to be a Japanese junk: whether it was some part of those said to have been cast away on the coast of Oregon several years ago, or the relic of some other eastern [Oriental] sailing craft, is a subject of conjecture. That it was one or the other there can be no doubt. The planks were fastened together on the edges with spikes or bolts of a flat shape, with the head all on one side. The seams were not straight, although the workmanship was otherwise good. It appeared to be the bottom of a vessel that was seen here and gave evidence of

having been a long time on shore." San Benito Islands are off Lower California, near Cerros Island, lat. 28 N., lon. 116 W.

Capt. Scammon has since furnished me with the following memorandum, from Chief Engineer Jas. A. Doyle, of U. S. S. "Lincoln:" "In July, 1871, while attached to the U. S. Rev. Str. Lincoln, I visited the island of Attou, which marks the extreme western limit of our new possessions. I went on shore and was kindly received by the natives. I was shown the remains of a Japanese junk that had been wrecked on the island not far from the harbor. The people told me that they saved four of the crew and kept them for nearly a year until they were taken off by one of the Fur Company's vessels on her annual visit to the island. The old chief (he was about seventy) told me that during his time three junks had been lost on the surrounding islets, and jokingly remarked that the people would thank the Almighty if he would direct the wrecked junks into their harbor, as they were very badly off for wood."

I presume the first one mentioned by Mr. Doyle is the same vessel as that alluded to by Prof. Davidson, which stranded on Attou, in 1862. The other three are entirely new instances.

I will next cite the wreck of a vessel on Point Adams, the southern shore of the mouth of Columbia River, probably somewhere from 1810 to 1820. My oldest authority on this vessel is Capt. Sir Edward Belcher, who was at Astoria in 1839. In his "Voyage around the World," London, 1843, Vol. I., page 306, he says: "A wreck likewise occurred in this bay, [meaning the indentation of the

coast off the Columbia River], many years ago. * * * *
 It appears that a vessel with many hands on board, and laden with bees-wax, entered the bay and was wrecked; she went to pieces, and the crew got on shore. Many articles were washed on shore, and particularly the bees-wax. This latter is even now [1839] occasionally thrown upon the beach, but in smaller quantities than formerly. I have one specimen now in my possession."

Prof. Davidson, in his "Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington Territory," U. S. Coast Survey, 1869, alludes to her as a "Chinese or Japanese junk." He says, "there are occasionally, after great storms, pieces of this wax thrown ashore, coated with sand and bleached nearly white. Formerly a great deal was found, but now it is rarely met with. Many people on the Columbia possess specimens, and we [in 1851] have seen several pieces." See also *Overland Monthly*, Jan'y, 1871, article entitled "Mouth of Columbia River." I do not know on what authority Davidson confidently pronounces the vessel a "Chinese or Japanese junk," nor do I know what became of the crew. This wreck has been very generally confounded with the one of which I am now about to relate.

Early in 1833 a Japanese junk was wrecked somewhere on the coast of Washington Territory, between Point Grenville and Cape Flattery. The authorities in this case are Capt. Wyeth, in a note, in the appendix of Irving's "Adventures of Capt. Bonneville," Sir Edward Belcher, as above, and Wilkes' Exploring Expedition. She had been out a very long time, whence, or whither bound, does not appear, and many of her crew had perished by starvation or disease before she was wrecked, and Belcher adds that

"several dead bodies were headed up in casks." After stranding, the wreck was plundered and the survivors enslaved by the savages. Wilkes says the officers of the Hudson Bay Company, at Astoria, became aware of this disaster in a singular manner. They received a drawing on a piece of China-paper, in which were depicted three shipwrecked persons, with the junk on the rocks and the Indians engaged in plundering. This was sufficient to induce them to make inquiries, and Capt. McNeal was dispatched on the H. B. Co.'s vessel 'Lama' to Cape Flattery. He had the satisfaction to find the three Japanese, whom he rescued from slavery. There were two men and a boy, and there was some trouble in purchasing the boy. The H. B. Co. subsequently sent them to England, whence they were sent to Macao, and it is stated in Perry's Japan Expedition, that in 1837 they were sent to the bay of Yeddo, in the "Morrison," by Mr. C. A. King, an American merchant; the "Morrison" was fired upon and sailed away to Kagosima, was again fired upon and returned to Macao, with the Japanese on board. As a memorial of this extraordinary incident, says Wilkes, porcelain of Japanese manufacture, which was purchased from the Indians who plundered the junk, was seen in possession of Mr. Birnie, the agent of the H. B. Co., at Astoria. Capt. Wyeth says he saw two of the men. Davidson alludes to this vessel in "Coast Pilot of Cal. &c." p. 181. See also Schoolcraft's Indian tribes of U. S., p. 217, and Haven's Archaeology of U. S. (Smithsonian Cont., 1856), p. 8. The reference may be found in Belcher's Voyage, chapter XII., Vol. I., p. 303, Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, Vol. IV., chap. IX., page 295, Rev. F. L. Hawkes' Account of Com. Perry's

Expedition to Japan, Wash. 1856, Vol. I., p. 47. Wyeth errs in locating the wreck on Queen Charlotte's Island, and Hawkes errs in placing her at the mouth of the Columbia.

About 1800-1805 a Japanese junk was wrecked on the coast of Alaska, probably near Sitka. This incident was furnished me by the kindness of Prof. Davidson, and so far as I know has never been published. Davidson has failed to find the account in the Russian Documents, but obtained the information during his survey of the coast of Alaska. The Japanese sailors were landed and assigned by Wrangell to Japonski Island, opposite Sitka, the Island receiving its name from them. They were taken thence to Japan, either in a Russian vessel, or in one built by themselves; Davidson thinks they built one from the wreck. The compass of the junk, many stone carvings &c., are in possession of Dr. Hough, of the U. S. Army, and now stationed on Alcatraz Island, in San Francisco harbor. Prof. Davidson also has some of the carvings.

In the latter part of the 18th century, probably about 1780, a Japanese junk was wrecked on one of the Aleutian Islands, (name unknown). This information may be found in the history of the Russian-American Shelikoff Company, by P. Tichmeneff, part I., p. 100, and in Hawkes' *Account of the Perry Expedition*, Vol I., p. 45. Tichmeneff, whose account I have copied from Prof. Davidson's notes, says: "These Japanese were saved by a clerk in the employ of the Shelikoff Company, named Delaroff, who was temporarily in one of the Aleutian Islands. On that Island he found a wrecked Japanese junk. Delaroff took all the Japanese in his vessel to the city of Ockotsk and thence to Irkutsk. They had little hope, however, of

seeing their native land, as some of them had already been converted to the Christian religion. The father of Lieut. Lakmann, [the ambassador heading the expedition which finally returned them to Japan], a scientific German gentleman, living at that time in Irkutsk, and engaged in a manufacturing establishment, advised Shelikoff, (Chief of the Company bearing his name), to confer with the Empress Catherine and suggest that the wrecked Japanese be forwarded to their country, as through this means Japan might become better known and a successful commercial treaty established. The Empress answered that the plan was excellent, and immediately [1792] ordered an expedition to carry the Japanese home. Accompanying the expedition was a letter from the Governor-General of Siberia and valuable presents to the Japanese Government. The ambassador entrusted with the enterprise was Lieut. Adam Lakmann, the Captain-Commanding Larkoff. The expedition was kindly received by the Japanese Government, and the Emperor gave permission that one Russian vessel should yearly be allowed to enter Nagasaki for the purpose of commercial intercourse with Japan."

Hawkes gives a somewhat different account of their return. He says they were detained ten years in Russia, and sailed in the fall of 1792, from Ockotsk, in a transport ship, called the "Catherine." They soon made a harbor in the northern part of the Island of Jesso, and there wintered; in the succeeding summer they entered the harbor of Hakodadi. The Japanese were polite, but refused to take back their country-men, and Lakmann left without landing the Japanese.

"In September, 1862, a Japanese vessel was wrecked on

the Island of Attou. They had been driven off the coast of Japan two or three months before, with a crew of twelve men, of which she had lost nine before going ashore; and she had thus been drifted 1800 miles in the Kamtschatka current, at an average velocity of twenty miles per day." Davidson's *Alaska Coast Pilot*, p. 64. Prof. Davidson told me he got these particulars from the officers who rescued them. Attou is in lat. $52^{\circ} 40'$ N., lon. $170^{\circ} 40'$ East, and is the westernmost point of the territory of the United States. Still it is not over 700 miles from the main land, and connected with it by a chain of islands.

On Saturday, 16th December, 1871, the schooner H. M. Hutchinson brought into San Francisco three Japanese castaways, taken from Atka Island, in lat. $52^{\circ} 30'$ N., lon. 175° west. The junk Jinko Maru of Mats Saka, province of Isè, of 180 kogus measurement, sailed from Isè with a cargo of rice for Kumano province. She met with a severe gale on the 28th day of November, 1870, lost her rudder and was obliged to cut away her masts. She drifted till the 15th May, 1871, when her crew sighted the Island of Adakh, and let go her anchor about a mile from shore. They had eaten up her cargo of rice, and only three of the crew remained alive. The Aleutians came off, and hove up the anchor, and towed her into a little harbor, where she drove ashore in a gale soon after. The Japanese lived two months on Adakh, being kindly treated by the Fur Company's agents. Thence they sailed in their own boat to Atka, arriving July 10; whence the Hutchinson took them (Sept 9), to Onnalaska, and thence to San Francisco. Adakh is very near Atka, to the W. S. W. It is about 520 miles from the nearest point of the continent of

America, but it is connected with the main land by the chain of islands between Alaska and Attou.*

Before closing this singular catalogue of waifs, I will add three cases of drifting upon islands in our half of the Pacific Ocean, though far removed from us, and two of dismantled junks, found near the Aleutian Islands. Belcher, Vol. I., p. 304, says: "About the same time [1833], another Japanese junk was wrecked on the Island of Oahu, Sandwich Islands. From the Hawaiian Spectator, Vol. 1., p. 296, I have the details. 'A junk, laden with fish, and having nine hands on board, left one of the southern islands of the Japanese Group, for Jeddo, but, encountering a typhoon, was driven to sea. After wandering about the ocean for ten or eleven months, they anchored on the last Sunday in December, 1832, near the harbor of Waialea, Oahu. Their supply of water had been obtained from casual showers. On being visited, four persons were found on board; three of these were severely afflicted with scurvy, two being unable to walk and the third nearly so. The fourth was in good health and had the sole management of the vessel. After remaining at Waialea five or six days, an attempt was made to bring the vessel to Honolulu, where she was wrecked off Barber's point, on the evening

* Since writing the above I have met Capt. Anton Barth, who rescued the survivors from the Island of Adakh, in 1871. He has resided in Atka for many years, and has married an Aleutian wife. He informs me that the old people of his wife's family tell him that about twenty years ago a Japanese junk was cast away upon Atka, and only three of her crew saved. He also confirms the wreck on Attou, having been there and seen the Japanese, in 1863. They were eventually taken to the Amoor River, by a Russian vessel, and thence in a man-of-war, to Japan. He said he had heard of other wrecks on the Aleutian Islands, but could give no particulars. He spoke of the similarity between the Japanese and Aleuts, both in personal appearance and in the sound of the language.

of January 1st, 1833. Everything but the crew was lost with the exception of a few trifling articles. The men remained at Honolulu eighteen months, when they were forwarded to Kamtschatka, from whence they hoped, eventually, to work their way, by stealth, into their own country, approaching by the way of the most northern islands of the Group."

A condensed account of the same incident may be found in Forbes's *California*, (quoted above), p. 300. Forbes adds that her burden was only eighty tons.

In the "Old and New" magazine, of June, 1870, is an article entitled "Our Furthest Outpost," by C. W. Brooks, Esq., Japanese Consul at San Francisco. Speaking of the cruise of the bark *Gambia*, in 1859, among the small islands to the northeast of the Hawaiian Group, he says, "On these and many other islands and rocks visited were found wrecks of Japanese junks." Again, speaking of the Midway Islands, the subject of the article, he says, "On the East side are the remains of two Japanese junks, their lower masts stranded high up on the beach. The northeast shore is lined with drift-wood, among which are many red-wood logs of formidable size, evidently from the coast of California." Midway Islands are in lat. $28^{\circ} 15' N.$, lon. $177^{\circ} 22' W.$

Mr. C. W. Brooks has also informed me that Capt. Brooks of the *Gambia*, found remains of a junk on "Ocean Island," lat. $28^{\circ} 24' N.$, lon. $178^{\circ} 21' W.$, very near Midway Islands.

There are many Japanese wrecks strewn among the islands of the Pacific, but I allude to these on Oahu, Ocean and Midway especially, because they are situated partially

in the return flow of the great current, and, as is shown by the character of the drift-stuff thrown on their beaches, these Japanese wrecks had very likely once been near the American shores.

I will here mention two dismasted vessels met at sea, which were furnished me by the kindness of Mr. Brooks, but I have been unable to ascertain the authorities from which he derived them.

"In 1848, Capt. Cox, of New London, Conn., picked up 15 or 20 Japanese, from a disabled junk, in lat. 40° N., lon. 170° W. He kept them on board during a cruise in the Okotsk sea and finally landed them at Lahaina."

"In 1855, Capt. Brooks, of Brig Leverett, picked up an abandoned junk in lat. 42° N., lon. 170° W." Both these are about in the longitude of Alaska, and south of the Aleutian Islands."

If I had time and opportunity, I have no doubt I might greatly extend this list. These cases have been gathered in the course of a few weeks, mainly by inquiry among my personal friends and amidst the prosecution of an active business. The further I extended my enquiries the greater results I obtained, and I am convinced that a much larger number of cast-aways will eventually come to our knowledge, besides the many which have perished from exposure, or died in captivity among the savages.

Many wrecked junks have also been found on the islands nearer to Japan, but as they are foreign to my purpose, I deem them only worthy of general mention, as increasing the sum of probabilities. Perry found them on the Bonin Islands. See Hawkes's account of Perry's Exped., Vol. I., p. 199. Brooks mentions them among the islands between

the Hawaiian Group and Japan. Many others have found such wrecks among the islands further west, nearer Japan.

I have been told also that there is one near Petropauloski in Kamtschatka, and one on Kauai, the northernmost of the Hawaiian Islands, but I am unable to find proper authority for them.

The number of cast-away Japanese who have been picked up at sea, and brought into San Francisco and Honolulu, is also considerable, taken from a score or more of vessels, but I have been unable to obtain any correct data of their positions at the time of rescue, which alone would render them valuable for my purpose. Besides, many of them, perhaps all, were picked up very far to the westward of America. For example, during 1871, two crews were brought into San Francisco. On Feb. 2, lat. $23^{\circ} 45'$ N., lon. $141^{\circ} 31'$ East, the ship *Annie M. Small* took four men from a wreck; and on May 23, lat. $34^{\circ} 54'$ N., lon. $143^{\circ} 32'$ East, the steamship *China* rescued five men.

In this connection it is worthy of mention that when the Japanese Government adopted the policy of non-intercourse, about 200 years ago, they not only forbade their vessels to trade with foreign ports, but they altered by law the construction of their junks, rendering them unfit for anything but coasting voyages. By prescribing an open stern and a huge rudder like our river steamboat rudders, they made their vessels very liable to a loss of the rudder, which must be speedily followed by cutting away the masts, and then the junk was helpless. A look at the preceding list of disasters will show how often this took place. Of course thus confining them near the shore would very much lessen the chances of their falling into the course of the

Great Ocean Currents, which would sweep them away to America. Those laws have now been abrogated; an account of them may be found in Perry's Expedition.

The evidences of any local influences resulting from a contact with the Asiatic nations are very slight, and all that has come under my knowledge in this search can be stated in few words. Of the Aleuts, Davidson says, in *Alaska Coast Pilot*, p. 52, "The Aleuts are very distinct in their looks, manners, language and customs, from all the other Indians of the northwest, and many of them bear a close resemblance to the less marked of the Japanese, so much so that the question at once arises whether this people has not been derived from cast-away or shipwrecked inhabitants of Japan, carried thither by the Kamtschatka branch of the great Japanese stream; but it is not our province to investigate the problem in this place."

An agent of the Alaska Commercial Company, who brought down the three Japanese from Atka on the "Hutchinson," said they had no difficulty in making their wants known to the Aleuts, for they had many words in common. This gentleman had resided long at the northwest, and spoke the Aleutian language.

Wilkes also noticed among some of the tribes of Indians he visited on the Straits of Fuca, the presence of some simple acts resembling the Chinese, such as a style of weaving rush mats, the conical hats, &c., and he speaks of the presence of the "oblique" eye among the coast tribes only, and a variety of complexions in certain localities, as suggesting a kinship to the Asiatic nations. I may add, however, that in San Francisco, where house-servants, both of Chinese and Indian extraction, are common, it is often

very puzzling to detect their nationality, when dressed in European style. I have often been deceived myself. But these questions, as well as that of a similarity in language, are out of the range of my knowledge and foreign to my purpose.

To sum up then the sure results obtained, we have in the ninety years, from 1781 to 1871, nine junks, either stranded on our shores or drifted to their immediate neighborhood, and one at Oahu—and in every case where we have a record of the wreck a part of the crew saved alive, and this too at a period when the Japanese commercial regulations were most unfavorable to such voyages as brought their vessels within the influence of the Great Stream which could bear them to our shores. Recapitulating the list with approximate dates, we have, in

1815,	Junk	boarded at Sea,	lat. 32° 45' N.,	lon. 166° 57' W.
1813,	"	"	about 49°	" 131°.
1820,	"	stranded on	Point Adams.	
1833,	"	"	Cape Flattery.	
1805,	"	"	near Sitka.	
1782,	"	"	on an Aleutian Island.	
1862,	"	"	" Attou	"
1871,	"	"	" Adakh	"
1832,	"	"	" Oahu, Hawaiian Islands.	
		Date unknown,	wreck on	San Benito Island.
		Date unknown,	several wrecks of junks on	Midway and Ocean Islands, and Group between there and Oahu.

So much has come to our knowledge unquestionably, without counting the other cases which rest upon rumor. There is still remaining a possibility of more, whose crews have perished among the savages, or been absorbed. It is an interesting inquiry whether before the days of Japanese

exclusiveness there may not, with freer navigation and stronger vessels, have been many more. And as Japanese History is opened to our study, it will be a curious question whether some crew may not have returned home with the tidings of a new world far across the Ocean. However this may be, these facts are very interesting to illustrate the possible course of migration, and any anomalies observed among the northwest coast Indians may possibly receive some light from the likelihood of an infusion of Japanese blood.

THE following paper, intended for presentation at the meeting, by accident was not received till after the adjournment.

THE COSMOGONY OF DANTE AND COLUMBUS.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

WHEN Columbus sailed on his fourth voyage, he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella a letter which contains the following statement with regard to the South Sea, then undiscovered, known to us as the Pacific Ocean :

"I believe that if I should pass under the Equator, in arriving at this higher region of which I speak, I should find there a milder temperature and a diversity in the stars and in the waters. Not that I believe that the highest point is navigable whence these currents flow, nor that we can mount there, because I am convinced that there is the terrestrial paradise, whence no one can enter but by the will of God."

This curious passage, of which the language seems so mystical, represents none the less the impression which Columbus had of the physical cosmogony of the undiscovered half of the world. It is curious to observe that the most elaborate account of this cosmogony, and that by which alone it has been handed down to the memory of modern times, is that presented in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where he represents the mountain of Purgatory, at the antipodes of Jerusalem, crowned by the Terrestrial

Paradise. It is this paradise of which Columbus says, "No one can enter it but by the will of God."

Of Dante's *Cosmogony* a very accurate account is given by Miss Rossetti, in her essay on Dante, recently published, to which she gives the name of "The Shadow of Dante." Her statement is in these words :

"Dante divides our globe into two elemental hemispheres, the Eastern, chiefly of land ; the Western, almost wholly of water. In the midst of the inhabited land-hemisphere he places Jerusalem, within the same hemisphere, so that its central and Hell's lowest point is exactly under Jerusalem ; he places Hell in the midst of the uninhabited sea-hemisphere ; he places Purgatory, as the antipodes to Jerusalem, distant from it by the whole diameter of the globe. Thus on and within the earth are situated the temporal and the eternal prison-house of sin. Neither, in Dante's view, formed part of God's original creation, wherein sin was not, but the fall of Lucifer at once produced the one and prepared the other, convulsing and inverting the world which God had made. The rebel Seraph fell headlong from Heaven directly above the Western hemisphere, till then a continent, in whose midst was Eden ; and Earth, in the two-fold horror of his sight and presence, underwent a two-fold change. First, to veil her face, she brought in upon herself the vast floods of the Eastern sea-hemisphere, transferring to their place all her dry land, save Eden, which thus was left insulated in mid-Ocean. And secondly, to escape his contact as he sank and sank through her surface, through her bowels, till the middle of his colossal frame, having reached the centre of gravity, remained there fixed from the sheer physical impossibility of sinking any lower, she caused a vast mass of her internal substance to flee before his face, and leaving eternally void the space it once had occupied to form the inverted pit-cone of Hell, she heaved it up directly under Eden, amid the new waste of waters, to form the towering mountain-cone, on whose peak the Terrestrial Paradise should thenceforth to the end of time, sit by, above all elemental strife, and whose sides should, after the Redemption of Man, furnish the Purgatorial stair whereby his foot might aspire once more to tread, his eye to contemplate his regained inheritance."

The allusion thus made by Columbus to the mystical cosmogony on which Dante wrought, is, I suppose, the last serious allusion made to it, as to a matter of fact, by any

geographer. On the other hand, I am not aware that any of the distinguished critics of Dante have called attention to the fact, that so late as the year 1503, a navigator so illustrious as Columbus, was still conducting his voyages on the supposition that Dante's cosmogony was true in fact. All readers of later voyages will remember how often, without any reference to this cosmogony, the islands of the Southern Pacific have been spoken of as a terrestrial paradise. It may be worthy, therefore, of remark, that the precise antipodes of Jerusalem, which, according to the cosmogony of Dante, would be the place of the summit of the terrestrial paradise, is just south of Tahiti, and southwest of Pitcairn's island, the two points where different enthusiasts among modern navigators have fancied that their terrestrial paradise was found. These islands are, in fact, the nearest land to the spot which Columbus, in the half mystical and half geographical letter which I have cited, indicates as the terrestrial paradise.

It is to be remembered, also, that it has been proved that the Pacific islands have grown up on the crests of extinct volcanoes.

Mr. Longfellow's note to the *Purgatorio* thus describes the mountain which Columbus expected to find there :

"The mountain of Purgatory is a vast conical mountain, rising steep and high from the waters of the Southern Ocean, at a point antipodal to Mount Sion, in Jerusalem. Around it run seven terraces on which are punished severally the Seven Deadly Sins. Rough stairways, cut in the rock, lead up from terrace to terrace, and on the summit is the garden of the Terrestrial Paradise." *Longfellow's first note to the Purgatorio, Vol. 2, Div. Com., p. 159.*

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JUN 23 1915

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1872.



WORCESTER, MASS.:
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PALLADIUM OFFICE.
1873.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,
OCTOBER 21, 1872.



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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1872, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

The President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the Chair.

The Record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Recording Secretary read the report of the Council, which had been prepared by Hon. N. B. SHURTLEFF, M.D.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their Annual Reports, which were adopted as part of the Report of the Council, and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

After the reading of the Report of the Council, remarks were made by CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., Mr. HAVEN, Judge THOMAS, Dr. JARVIS, Col. WASHBURN, and Prof. SMYTH, of Andover, upon the subject of Dr. PALFREY's last volume.

Col. E. B. STODDARD and Hon. P. C. BACON were appointed a committee to receive the ballots for President, and reported that all the ballots were for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Mr. DEANE, Hon. F. H. DEWEY, and Rev. Mr. WATER-

STON were appointed a committee to nominate the remaining officers, and they reported as follows :

Vice Presidents :

Hon. BENJ. F. THOMAS, LL.D., of Boston.
JAMES LENOX, Esq., of New York.

Council :

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.
Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D., of Boston.
SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.
JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.
Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., of Worcester.
Hon. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, of Charlestown.
Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, of Worcester.
Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D., of Boston.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

Hon. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Auditors:

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. EBENEZER TORREY, of Fitchburg.

And they were chosen by ballot.

The President submitted a report from the Council relative to the burial place of Capt. John Smith, and provision for a suitable tablet, or a renewal of the monumental inscription; and on motion of Col. DAVIS the matter was referred to Hon. G. F. HOAR and Mr. HAVEN, with authority to act.

Voted, That the President be authorized to give a quitclaim deed, in behalf of the society, of a tract of land lying in front of the former Antiquarian Hall, on Summer Street, on such terms as he shall see fit.

The Council recommended BENSON J. LOSSING, of New York, for membership, and he was unanimously elected.

The President read a paper which he had prepared, on "The Star Spangled Banner, and National Songs," which was referred to the Committee of Publication, after some remarks by Rev. Mr. WATERSTON, Hon. B. F. THOMAS, and Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH.

Dr. JARVIS, in some remarks in approval of the society's collections of newspapers, alluded to a collection of foreign postage stamps which he had made, and would be pleased to present to the society. Dr. S. A. GREEN, of Boston, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., made some suggestions on the subject of postage stamps.

Rev. Mr. WATERSTON spoke of the desirability of the collection of photographic and stereoscopic views of objects of antiquarian interest, alluding to an old building in Ply-

mouth, N. H., in which Daniel Webster made his first plea, and now used for a carriage and paint shop. He had found a stereoscopic view of the building and presented it to the society. He also presented other views of objects of interest connected with the early history of the country, including pictures of Indians and their primitive associations. He also exhibited autographs—a bill made by the father of Benjamin Franklin to President Leverett, of Harvard College, for candles, a certificate of church membership of the uncle of Benjamin Franklin, from Black Friars, London, to a Boston church, and several letters and papers, including a passport of John and John Quincy Adams, signed by Benjamin Franklin, a letter of Paul Jones, directed to His Excellency Dr. Franklin, a letter of Franklin written in 1778, and several of his printed pamphlets.

Dr. JARVIS spoke of the mistake in regard to the authorship of the inscription on the monument at Concord, and of the quarrel between Concord and Lexington as to the place where the first resistance to the British was made.

Mr. HAVEN submitted a communication from Rev. Edward E. Hale, accompanying a curious and rare black-letter tract in German, the property of his brother in law, Mr. Frederic Perkins; and also a translation and comment by Mr. Perkins. The book is mentioned by Harris, (Bibl. Am. Vetust., p. 177, No. 102), with, however, some oversights, and some errors of the press. Harris gives it the date of 1520 (after Græsse), and attributes it to Peter Martyr, calling the surname "Angleria," while in fact it is Angliara. Moreover, the story is told, in part, in the first person; whereas Peter Martyr was never in the regions described, and had Harris examined the text,

which is crabbed old German, he would not have fallen into the error of ascribing it to Peter Martyr, even with a query. The narrative appears to have been written in Spanish, and the author styles himself Johan von Angliara, the faithful servant of Charles, King of Spain, and an unworthy captain, who sailed with twenty ships "from Calesse in Spain on a voyage to Galicut." They encountered a storm, by which the ships were scattered, only four being left together. These turned towards an opposite quarter of the sea, and sailed four thousand miles, and on Easter eve, 1519, which was the twenty-third day of April, they saw land. This proved to be an island occupied by handsome men, as white as themselves, with whom they communicated by an interpreter who "could speak Indian." These were not accustomed to wear clothing, but had a populous city, and a king who lived in a palace built of gold and precious stones of great value. This king gave them four vessels of pure gold full of precious stones, to be presented to their own monarch, as a token of friendship and honor. The island was one of a number within a circuit of two thousand miles, abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones, governed by four kings, whose people lived after the ancient manner, prayed to God and Jesus Christ, and were obedient to "Priester Johan," doing all that he enjoins and appoints.

The tale is doubtless a fiction in the whole—certainly in part—and may be, as Mr. Perkins suggests, intended for an imposition, or an imitation of one of the letters of Columbus—perhaps a mere romance of the sea. At any rate, it is by a very remote kinship that the narrative of

Johan von Angliara can be reckoned among "Americana." Mr. Perkins inquires if any corresponding Spanish tract is known.

Mr. DEANE reported that in accordance with the request of the society he had written Dr. Kohl on the subject of his Memoir on the West Coast; and the society requested Mr. DEANE to do what might be necessary to prepare the manuscript for publication.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN compliance with their By-laws, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully present their semi-annual Report, on the sixtieth anniversary of the institution.

Although nothing of an extraordinary character has transpired since the semi-annual meeting, held in Boston in April last, nevertheless the records of the Council will show that at their regular meetings much has been done to promote the general objects of the society, and that the Council have been diligent in the performance of their duty in looking after the finances and giving their attention to the direction of such matters as of necessity come under their particular care. A detailed account of this business would not be sufficiently interesting to take up the time of the society on the present occasion. The details can be found in the records.

In the Treasurer's Report, which will be submitted by our efficient officer, will be found evidence of the prosperity of the society in its financial matters. It will be noticed that the various funds have been carefully nursed and that the yearly income therefrom steadily increases. No expenses have been incurred except those that were absolutely necessary to carry on the institution in an econo-

mical manner. The society has been highly favored in having possessed financial officers whose interest in the institution and whose ability and integrity have been so great.

The cabinet increases in its treasures constantly, and now possesses many rare, valuable and interesting specimens, which adorn our halls, and serve to illustrate the studies and researches of those who visit the collections in the prosecution of their historical and antiquarian inquiries.

The society's Library, which is the most valuable of its treasures, rapidly increases in the number of its volumes; and it is with pride as well as pleasure that we can look at our collection of rare books and pamphlets and feel that in this we have undoubtedly the most useful library in its specialties that it falls to the lot of any American society to possess; and still more can we rejoice, that these treasures are free to all who desire and see fit to avail themselves of their use. While we hail with pleasure the additions that are daily made to these treasures, it is a matter of regret that we cannot make them more serviceable for want of a complete catalogue in printed form. The day will come, however, and soon it is hoped, when the finances of the society will warrant the necessary expenditure for such an important work as the preparation and printing of a compendious catalogue of the library and cabinet. The regular examination of the library shows that, although the books have been largely used for consultation, yet no injury nor loss has happened to their number during the last six months, and that the increase in number of the books has been large, and that their condition has been much improved by repairs and binding. The binding fund allows the Li-

brarian to keep his new books and pamphlets in a proper condition, not only for preservation but for easy and comfortable consultation,—the last a great desideratum in all libraries, and which, except in ours, is apt to be seriously neglected, perhaps for want of proper and sufficient means. This fund, a wise forethought of its founder, is one of the most useful that the society possesses, and will be the means of preserving much that would otherwise be lost on account of its ephemeral character.

It is gratifying to the society to find that the facilities which it affords to students are so much enjoyed and properly used. There is scarcely a day that the library is not frequented by authors and public writers, who require facts that only can be gleaned from its volumes; and, while honey is so liberally gathered from them and collected together for intellectual repasts, it is frequently returned to our own shelves in various forms, occasionally much improved and made more valuable by critical comment and additional information. In this way the society gains much, and is repaid most pleasantly and satisfactorily in the manner it most desires, by an addition to its collection of treasures.

However much may have been accomplished by writers visiting our collections, it is a matter of great satisfaction that much also has been done by our own members. During the past six months we have been favored by the published productions of several of our associates. Among these should be mentioned the recent work by Hon. Richard Frothingham, styled "The Rise of the Republic of the United States." This volume, printed in an excellent manner, most enticingly invites the reader to a carefully prepared account of the national birth of the United States,

and is really the first attempt of any writer of reputation to lay before the historical student a clear and lucid interpretation of the important facts on this subject which have been preserved and handed down to us from the very founders of the Republic. With a minuteness and exactness truly commendable in a historical writer, Mr. Frothingham has given in detail the tendencies and progress of events which led to this great accomplishment; and has presented to the world one of the most carefully prepared and valuable text books in republicanism which has ever been produced. In his work no research has been neglected by him, no facts are overlooked, and no particulars bearing on the subject passed by; but with a surprising thoroughness which few scholars and investigators possess, and with a sagacity and good sense which he has exhibited in his other historical writings, he has treated his present subject in an exceedingly judicious manner. This labor has naturally crept upon the author, in consequence of his previous investigations and writings. The early effort in writing the history of his native town, drew him unconsciously into the study of the efforts of the country to gain its independence, and of the events which led to the battle of Bunker Hill and to the siege of Boston. These in turn gradually demanded the investigations which resulted in the "Life and Times of Joseph Warren;" and it was impossible that a writer with Mr. Frothingham's philosophic mind, and great accumulation of facts, could rest in his previous labors, and lay aside the pen, without doing exactly what he has done, that for which all readers interested in the growth of governments will most cordially thank him. In a local point of view the volume fills a space hitherto

empty; and the twelve chapters, although connected intimately, each possess an individual interest on account of the graphic manner in which important matters and notorious transactions are related. By this last effort our associate has added well-earned laurels to a reputation sufficiently great to satisfy the desire of the most ambitious writer for fame; but fortunately Mr. Frothingham's fame was early accomplished, and his late writings have been for the propagation and dissemination of historic truths.

Hon. John D. Baldwin, the author of "Pre-Historic Nations," has given to the public another work of much interest. This volume on Ancient America is eminently archaeological, and treats very particularly of the subjects which come directly within the scope of the intention of the founders of the society. The work is extremely well illustrated with engravings, and exhibits much patient research and study. Students of the antiquities of America will find this new production of our associate a welcome volume, on account of the careful and masterly manner in which the subject has been treated.

Hon. John G. Palfrey, another member of the society, has just contributed an additional volume to those which have so much enriched our historical literature. The new volume is a sequel to the two volumes published in 1866, and is truly a compendious history of New England from the Revolution, of the seventeenth century, to the death of George the First. The work is written in the admirable, precise style of the author, and every page bears the impress of patient investigation and careful study. The topics are exceedingly interesting, and are most adroitly managed by the learned author.

Another publication, under the immediate charge of a member of our society, is the new edition of the "History of the Massachusetts General Hospital." This elaborate and highly interesting volume was written by the late Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, and privately printed at his expense in 1851. Previous to his decease, which occurred on the sixteenth of April, 1861, the history had been so liberally bestowed by the author, that a very few copies only were preserved for distribution; many notes of value had been added by him, and a provision in his will made ample arrangements for the publication of a new edition when deemed advisable by the Trustees of the Hospital. In November last, the Trustees, judging it necessary that the book should be reprinted, with Mr. Bowditch's corrections and additions, together with a continuation up to the present year, requested Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., to edit a new edition of Mr. Bowditch's History of the Hospital, with such additions as he might deem proper. To this request Dr. Ellis gave his consent, and the large and elegantly printed volume of 734 pages attests to the conscientious and thorough manner in which he has executed his trust. The volume is replete with interest to the general reader, and contains a fund of valuable information. Dr. Ellis has faithfully performed his labor of love, and without any great opportunity to win renown by this gratuitous labor, has performed a very acceptable duty, which will connect his name indelibly with the genial author, as his former recent labor has with the fortunate and distinguished Count Rumford. The admirable manner in which Dr. Ellis accomplishes his literary endeavors certainly re-

flects credit upon himself, and honor upon the scholarly associations with which he is connected.

The society itself has not been inactive in respect to publication. Besides the usual semi-annual reports, which contain very interesting papers, the Publishing Committee, with the able assistance of our learned Librarian, have caused to be put in type about one half of the valuable history of printing, by the founder of the society. The great care necessary in reproducing the original work of Mr. Thomas, and the large investigation required in properly preparing the annotation, and in conducting the work through the press, make the labor one of slow progress. When completed, the new edition of the history will be a valuable work, and will well repay the society for the expense and labor of its publication.

Since our last semi-annual meeting, it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life one of our old and much esteemed members. Hon. John Prescott Bigelow, after a long life of public usefulness, died in Boston on the morning of the fourth of July, in ripe old age. He was born in Groton, in this State, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1797, and was the second son of Hon. Timothy Bigelow, of Groton, who subsequently moved to Medford in October, 1806. His first schooling was at Groton Academy, now called Lawrence Academy; and as a recognition of this fact, and in gratitude for the favors received at that institution, he remembered it in his last will by giving it the liberal bequest of ten thousand dollars, subject to the life estate of an elderly person. He was fitted for college by Dr. Stearns, of Medford, and entered Harvard College in February, 1812, and graduated in 1815,

with distinction, in a class that produced many eminent scholars, lawyers and clergymen. On graduating he commenced the study of law, which he pursued three years, partly with Hon. Luther Lawrence, in Groton, and partly with his father, in Boston, and in 1818 was admitted to the bar, and entered upon practise with his father. In March, 1824, Mr. Bigelow married Louisa, the only daughter of the late David L. Brown, a well known landscape painter, from England. With her he lived until her decease in 1847, and by her had Prescott Bigelow, a young man of much promise, who died a few years ago. Early in life Mr. Bigelow evinced an interest in politics, and was engaged many years in the municipal affairs of Boston, holding a position in the Common Council from 1827 to 1834, being its presiding officer during two years. Subsequently, in the years 1849, 1850 and 1851, he very acceptably served the city as Mayor. From 1828 to 1836, with the exception of the year 1834, he was a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1836 he was chosen to succeed Hon. Edward D. Bangs in the office of Secretary of State, a position which he held until 1843. In 1845 he was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, an office which he held four years, until he was called to the Mayoralty of Boston. On the establishment of the Public Library of Boston, in 1852, Mr. Bigelow was chosen one of the trustees, and so continued until 1869, when failing health induced him to resign his position in an institution in which he had so large an interest, and to which he was the earliest pecuniary benefactor. He has died at a ripe old age, a faithful public servant, and full of honors. On the thirty-first of May, 1843, he was chosen

a member of the Antiquarian Society, and on the twenty-first of October he was elected a Councillor of the society, an office which he held at the time of his decease. As a recognition of his regard for the institution, he left it a bequest of one thousand dollars, which will soon be paid into the treasury, without any condition as to its use; he trusting firmly in the good judgment and discretion of the society in all matters concerning the welfare of the institution.

William Thomas, Esq., a grandson of the founder of the society, died at his residence in Boston, after a long illness, on the nineteenth of June, 1872, at the age of sixty-four years. He was the son of Isaiah Thomas, jr., and was born in Worcester on the eleventh of April, 1808. He obtained his education at the Worcester schools, and at the academy in Wakefield, N. H.; and instead of entering College he completed his studies under the tuition of Rev. Joseph Allen, D.D., of Northborough. When fourteen years of age he was placed in a store, in Worcester, where he passed four years, giving faithful service, and acquiring a taste for mercantile pursuits and the habits of industry which so eminently prepared him for the business positions which he in after life so creditably filled. At the age of eighteen he removed to Boston, and entered the store of Messrs. George and Jabez C. Howe, where he remained until he commenced business on his own account. In 1852, after about twenty years of business, he retired from mercantile pursuits, and soon after gave his special attention to banking, taking the responsible position of President of the Webster Bank at the time of its institution, and continuing in office until he was compelled to relin-

quish all business cares on account of failing health. He was chosen a member of the society on the twenty-third of October, 1850, and always expressed an interest in the institution which his grandfather had so richly endowed. He was a public spirited man, and characterized by a genial temperament and liberal disposition.

John Newman Wilson, M.D., died at Newark, Ohio, on the eighth of the present month. He was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia, November 21, 1802. Sixty-six years of his life were passed in Newark, Ohio, and its vicinity. He studied medicine with Dr. John J. Boice, and practised his profession energetically and successfully for more than thirty years, having a widely extended practise all that time. Dr. Wilson was a public spirited citizen, and his influence was always found in favor of good morals. During the rebellion his patriotism was conspicuous. He was one of the chief founders of the "Licking County Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society," in 1867, and a number of their most interesting and valuable papers, treating of antiquarian and historical subjects, were from his pen. Integrity of character, candor, and devotion to truth, were his prominent characteristics. He gave much time during the latter part of his life to the investigation and preservation of mounds and traces of aboriginal occupation in the neighborhood of Newark. The death of Dr. Wilson will be seriously felt in the community in which he took so active a part. An appreciative notice of him has been published by his friend, Isaac Smucker, Esq., whose contributions to antiquarian history for this society have been frequent.

In closing their report, the Council take the opportunity

of returning their thanks to the numerous friends of the society who have remembered them during the past six months by donations to the library and cabinet; for the society is very largely dependent upon the public for the increase of these departments—and indeed this reliance has been most liberally met by those who are interested in historical and archæological pursuits. In return, the society is always glad and ready to throw open its doors to all inquirers; and it will ever be the desire and endeavor of those engaged in its management to dispense its privileges most freely to all who make the objects of the society their business or pleasure.

For the Council,

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF.

OCTOBER 21, 1872.

Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report, for the six months ending October 18, 1872.

The Librarian's and General Fund, April 22, 1872, was \$28,526.92

Received for dividends, interest, and tax on

Bank Stock refunded 1,661.80

\$30,188.22

Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, 1,229.23

Present amount of this Fund, \$28,958.99

The Collection and Research Fund, April 22, 1872, was \$13,345.75

Received for dividends, interest, premium, &c.,

since, 971.69

\$14,317.44

Paid for books, part of Librarian's salary, 160.36

Present amount of this Fund, 14,157.08

The Bookbinding Fund, April 22, 1872, was 9,900.08

Received for dividends, interest, and tax on

Bank Stock refunded, 517.75

\$10,417.83

Paid for part of Asst. Librarian's salary, 249.99

Present amount of this Fund, 10,167.84

The Publishing Fund, April 22, 1872, was \$10,259.94

Received for dividends, interest, premium, &c.,

since, 616.92

\$10,876.86

Paid for printing and expenses incurred for
publishing, 753.09

Present amount of this Fund, 10,123.77

Amount carried forward, 63,407.68

Amount brought forward,	68,407.68
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , April 22, 1872, was	\$10,821.16
Received for interest since,	285.07
Present amount of this Fund,	10,606.28
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , April 22, 1872, was	\$660.73
Received for interest since,	18.89
Present amount of this Fund,	679.12
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , April 22, 1872, was	\$1,122.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
Present amount of this Fund,	1,152.20
Total of the seven Funds,	\$75,845.28
Cash on hand included in foregoing statement,	1,295.28

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,400.00
Railroad Stock,	5,600.00
Railroad Bonds,	7,200.00
United States Bonds,	500.00
City Bonds,	1,000.00
Cash,	258.99
	<u>28,958.99</u>

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,200.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	7,300.00
United States Bonds,	1,100.00
City Bonds,	500.00
Cash,	257.08
	<u>14,157.08</u>

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,800.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
United States Bonds,	300.00
Cash,	67.84
	<u>10,167.84</u>
Amount carried forward,	53,273.91

Amount brought forward, . . . 53,289.91
The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00
Railroad Bonds,	5,000.00
United States Bonds,	2,050.00
City Bonds,	1,000.00
Cash,	173.77
	<hr/> 10,123.77

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Railroad Stock,	\$400.00
Railroad Bonds,	1,700.00
United States Bonds,	200.00
City Bonds,	8,000.00
Cash,	306.23
	<hr/> 10,606.28

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00
United States Bonds,	100.00
Cash,	79.12
	<hr/> 679.12

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00
Cash,	152.20
	<hr/> 1,152.20

Total of the seven Funds,	<u>\$75,845.23</u>
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Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, October 18, 1872.

October 18, 1872.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments, and find them as stated.

ISAAC DAVIS,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
EBENEZER TORREY,	

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

YOUR librarian begs leave to report that, in the last six months, there have been received for the library by gift 317 books, 2941 pamphlets, 4 volumes of newspapers bound, and 111 unbound;—by exchange, 127 books and 158 pamphlets;—by purchase, 8 books and 56 pamphlets. In the same time there have been bound 185 books of the ordinary size, and 84 volumes of newspapers. The aggregate of increase is 637 books of the ordinary size, 88 volumes of newspapers bound, 111 unbound, and 3155 pamphlets; also sundry maps, lithographs, &c.

It will be noticed, in the list of donations annexed to this report, that the greatest numbers were from Hon. John D. Baldwin, Edward W. Lincoln, Esq., Hon. Emory Washburn, Mrs. J. H. Gerould, and Hon. Isaac Davis. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Esq., in addition to his gift of 51 pamphlets, has fitted up a convenient cabinet for our aboriginal relics, a branch of archæology in which he takes particular interest. Some of the gifts are important works by members of the society. Thus it will be observed that a historical work, of a high order, has been presented by its author, Hon. Richard Frothingham; that a new volume of his *New England History* has been received from Hon. John G. Palfrey; and that Hon. John D. Baldwin has presented copies of his two archæological publications.

Two other gifts have just arrived, which are worthy of separate mention.

At the last meeting of the society a letter was read from Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, relating to his efforts while in England to procure a copy of the *Spectator* as originally published—on the suggestion of our President. Prof. Salisbury could find but one copy, and that was in the British Museum, purchased so late as November, 1850. It contained papers No. 1 to 555 inclusive, vols. 1 to 7 complete, with vol. 8, several papers of which are deficient; the whole bound in one volume folio, 1711-1714. For lack of the book itself Prof. Salisbury gave a minute description and collation of the copy in the Museum, which possesses much historical interest. Since then he has been fortunate enough to obtain an actual copy. It contains the papers from No. 1 to 353 inclusive, bound in a single folio volume, and in excellent condition. The dates are from March 1st, 1711, to April 15, 1712. This literary nugget he has kindly presented to our library.

The other gift consists of specimens of Bank notes issued by the Central Bank of Worcester, from 1830 to 1864, placed on card-board by the ingenious hand of Nathaniel Paine, Esq., in a manner to illustrate and preserve them, and handsomely framed and glazed. They are presented by the officers of the Central Bank.

The first reports made to the society by its officers, after the removal of the library to its present quarters, were in October, 1853,—just nineteen years ago. At that time it was believed that the existing generation, at least, would pass away before additional accommodations could be required. So strong indeed was the impression of a super-

fluity of room in the new edifice that the then vice-president, now *President* of the society, as a small consideration for his large contribution to the cost of the structure, reserved the right to decide for what purpose the main room on the lower floor should be used. It was his opinion, shared by others, that it would serve for the public library of the city, and that the two libraries might for a while peaceably and profitably occupy the same premises.

The rapidity with which certain classes of our accessions flowed into the apartment in question, covering its floor with unbound newspapers, and filling its shelves with pamphlets awaiting arrangement, or laid aside as duplicates, soon showed it to be space which even then could not be spared, and which has since proved to be of inestimable importance. A very few years later the collections of the city were in a large and handsome building erected for their special custody, and now constitute one of the largest and best municipal libraries in the country.

In the mean time, we ourselves have outgrown our precincts, and are getting to be so much pinched for room, that new accessions have to be lodged in out-of-the-way corners, for want of places where they can be properly accommodated.

Were it not for the nest egg of eight thousand dollars, which with an additional piece of land has been generously provided for an extension of our edifice, the method of meeting this constantly increasing difficulty would be a more serious matter than happily it seems to be under existing circumstances. The fund has already advanced to ten thousand six hundred dollars, and when, and by what

means, our limits are to be expanded, is only a question of time and endurance.

A good deal might be said about the desirableness of reducing that time and relieving that endurance by every practicable means; but the subject is introduced chiefly for its connection with that portion of our establishment for which it was supposed the society would have no particular use. It is true that a suggestion was early made of the feasibility of connecting the upper and lower halls by means of a stairway from the area of the library proper—the books least in demand to be placed below. But such a procedure would involve the necessity of creating another and similar room for the purposes to which the present one is devoted. When the building shall be prolonged into the vacant lot behind it, a most effective continuation of the library room may be secured, both as regards appearance and convenience, and beneath it provision can be made for another assorting room. At this moment we are considering only the one which already exists.

It would strike an observer, who should look into it, that space there was as much exhausted as in the library above. The shelves on the sides appear nearly filled, and the broad floor is almost hidden by piles of newspapers, arranged, or in course of arrangement, for the binder. On inspecting these more closely, it would be perceived that the parcels belong to various periods of time, and to different sections of country. Thus, when counted, there are seen to belong to the Eastern States, 9 parcels from Maine, 26 from New Hampshire, 10 from Vermont, 225 from Massachusetts, 18 from Rhode Island, 13 from Connecti-

cut; to the Middle States, 179 from New York, 10 from New Jersey, 53 from Pennsylvania, 6 from Delaware; to the Southern States, 15 from Maryland, 99 from the District of Columbia, 23 from Virginia, 4 from North Carolina, 7 from South Carolina, 3 from Georgia, 2 from Alabama, 1 from Mississippi, 2 from Louisiana; to the Western States, 12 from Ohio, 6 from Illinois, 11 from Kentucky, 4 from Tennessee, 3 from Michigan, 2 from Indiana, 6 from Missouri, 1 from Iowa, 1 from Minnesota, 2 from Kansas, 1 from Nebraska, 8 from California, 1 from the U. S. Territories. There are also 51 parcels from England and her colonies, 21 that are either French, German, Italian or Spanish, and 27 that belong to the class of Adventual or Prophetic. The aggregates are:

304	parcels	from	the	Eastern	States.
248	"	"	"	Middle	"
156	"	"	"	Southern	"
59	"	"	"	Western	"
99	"			Miscellaneous.	

In all, 866 parcels, each parcel representing a volume.

These are regarded as ready for binding, because they are as complete as we are able to make them, and there is no reasonable prospect of advantage from longer delay. They will go to the binder as fast as he is able to receive them and give them proper attention. The process of elimination has yielded nearly an equal number of parcels of *duplicates*, with which we expect to make profitable exchanges. In their case lapse of time causes no depreciation of value. Like good wine, their pecuniary estimation increases with age, and we need not be in haste to

bring them to market. Paper kept dry will resist decay for ages; and, whatever may be said of works of learning and *belles lettres* literature, the contents of newspapers are historical revelations of every-day life, thoughts, habits and occupations, whose interest is as eternal as is the desire of each generation to comprehend the condition and character of its predecessors.

This is a fair representation of the ordinary contents of that most indispensable apartment—the matter changing of course, but the manner of things, and their nature, remaining very much the same.

Our society may be said to have led the way in the practise of preserving these bulky tomes as a regular and prominent class of historical documents. Our library commenced with a large number of early newspapers, from their beginning in this country down, which its founder had gathered while preparing his history of printing, or had received as exchanges for his own "Spy;" and the collection was made conspicuous, not merely by its rarity and intrinsic value, but by the fact that other libraries did not then include them among their objects of preservation, on account of the cost of binding and the trouble of storing such massive material. Many individuals, and some institutions, have tried the experiment of keeping these files, either bound or unbound; but in almost every instance the lack of house-room, or the expense and difficulty of preserving them suitably, has proved to be an insurmountable obstacle. It is seldom that the publishers even, retain for any length of time, complete series of their own issues. Hence we have always claimed that it was policy for the proprietors to send their papers to us, and that the time,

space, and outlay of money, required by each annual volume in order to secure its continued existence and usefulness as a work of reference, more than counterbalanced its value at the time of publication.

To be sure it is utterly impracticable to assemble in a single library any considerable proportion of the thousands of newspapers now printed ; but many libraries are beginning to procure files of the principal papers belonging to their own neighborhood, and some of the larger institutions are making it a point to gather all that are within their reach ; just as they are endeavoring to compete with societies like ours in the collection of all the minor materials of history. It is doubtful whether, in respect to newspapers, this practise will be continued long, or carried to any great extent. They are too costly and too cumbersome not to weary the patience and exhaust the spare resources of the managers of libraries formed for general purposes, where, if specialties are permitted, they are likely to be of a more popular kind. It is certainly much to be desired that local institutions should have the courage and the ability to find a place for the best newspaper literature that exists around them ; but something more than this is needed to provide for the requirements of future history, and the wants of the future historian. It is important that the leading organs of different parties and sects should stand somewhere side by side, that they may be compared, and the truth elicited from their mutual partialities and prejudices. This is an end our society may perhaps rationally aim to accomplish ; and may venture to hope that, with the aid of members and friends, representative papers from all sections of the coun-

try will ultimately, as an established custom, be consigned to our care.

A newspaper is the autobiography of the community where it is published. In its pages each generation tells its own story—with all the faults of excessive detail, of exaggerated self-importance, and one-sided coloring, which pertain to autobiography, but also with many of the merits and uses that are peculiar to it. Newspapers are pictures of passing events as seen from their own standpoints; and they may be regarded, each, as one series of observations which, when tested by a sufficient number of other similar observations, may tend to scientific exactness. They are records of politics and business, of opinion and action, of enterprise and achievement, of casualty and crime, as these are mixed with and modify the incidents of the period and its public and private character in history. They are at once the product and the exponents of the genius of their age.

They cannot, therefore, be spared from archives claiming any degree of completeness; while their transmission to future generations presents a problem of considerable difficulty.

If our society is committed to the task, as perhaps it is, rather elaborate preparations will be needed for suitably sustaining that ponderous responsibility. The lower portions of our alcoves, which alone are fitted for books that cannot be handled at a height much above the floor, are already full. The boxes below the windows, and the spaces beneath the tables, are crowded to overflowing, while piles are rising in every available recess. Newspapers to the

right of us, newspapers to the left of us, must be the first thought of a visitor on entering the room; and he may possibly, if he is a politician, or candidate for office, feel thankful that their thunder is spent, and their batteries are no more to be dreaded.

We have been accustomed to put into binding every newspaper file that was nearly complete, and sufficient in numbers to constitute a volume; regarding it as worth the two or three dollars it cost, whatever its nature or the place of its origin. It is evident, however, that we shall be constrained to limit the number and discriminate more in the selection of these publications. As has been already suggested, if we can obtain the leading organs of opinion from the centres of influence in those portions of our country which possess habits or institutions peculiar to themselves, it is probably as much as the society can provide for, and all it can reasonably be expected to accomplish. In any circumstances, it will be essential, when enlarging the building, to construct, in the basement or elsewhere, a series of fixtures on a large scale, specially adapted to this class of collections.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

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THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER AND NATIONAL SONGS.

BY STEPHEN SALISBURY.

As a slight cloak of propriety, if not of dignity, for a subject that may be considered of little importance, to which I will invite the attention of the society, for a few minutes, I will offer a familiar quotation from Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, a quotation of some value to Fletcher, for it has given him his best hold on the memory of modern times. He writes: "I knew a very wise man who believed that if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." If this should be thought to be exaggeration, it will not be doubted that national songs, in some degree, form and indicate the character of a people, and are therefore worthy of historical notice. I am not aware that there is more important proof of this power of the Muses than is found in the influence of the song entitled "The Star Spangled Banner" during the struggles for the life of our nation in the last twelve years. In the efforts and sufferings of the camp, the battle-field and the prison, and in the discouragements and sacrifices of those who upheld the national arm at home, the untiring repetition of its inspir-

ing strains, and the "marching on" of a more humble and more energetic chorus, kept up the strength and enthusiasm of confident hope. Thus the "Star Spangled Banner" has become a favorite of our people. It is well known that it was written by Francis Scott Key, a young lawyer of Baltimore, in September, 1814, and it was begun on board of a ship of the British fleet lying near Fort McHenry, to which he had gone to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. To prevent his giving intelligence to his countrymen of the intention to make a combined attack by sea and land on Baltimore, he was detained as a prisoner of war. There he anxiously watched the flag of his country floating over the fort through the day, and in the darkness of the night caught occasional glimpses of it, in the explosion of the shells and rockets by which it was assailed; and when morning dawned, he saw with thrilling delight that the beautiful ensign still waved over its brave defenders. This scene and the emotions that it excited, he has painted and expressed in this pathetic and inspiring song. The origin of the appropriate tune, that gives strength and deeper feeling to the words, is not so well known. Every one can readily say, that the tune is taken from the old English song, entitled "To Anacreon in Heaven." But I have inquired in vain of the most learned *belles lettres* scholars and musicians that I know or could approach, for the author of the words or the music or the date of either. The song as printed in "The Universal Songster," published in London from 1825 to 1834, has the name of Ralph Tomlinson as the author. Multiplied inquiries and research in all biographies and indexes that I can consult, have not discovered the name; yet the song has grace, beauty and wit, and is

enriched with happy classical ornaments, and it seems to be a thing that could not be disowned or forgotten. It existed to be the model of the song, by Robert Treat Paine, Jr., called "Adams and Liberty," at the period when Thomas Moore was first known as a poet, and it is almost worthy of his pen, but it has never been attributed to him. It is commonly called an old English song, but the earliest imprint of it that I have seen, is in my copy of "The Vocal Companion," published in Philadelphia, by Matthew Carey, in 1796. The Nightingale, printed in Boston in 1804, has the words and the music, but not the name of the author. It seems then to be a case in which the best evidence must be obtained from the party on trial, and the song must speak for itself. Its first words are :

"To Anacreon in heaven, where he sat in full glee,
A few sons of harmony sent their petition,"

and the last line and the chorus are :

"May our club flourish happy, united and free ;
And long may the sons of Anacreon entwine
The Myrtle of Venus with Bacchus' Vine."

We have here the facts that the song was written for a musical club, called the sons of Anacreon. Of this club I can find no other mention. With a general resemblance to the poetry of Moore, there are sentences that have not his choice English, as for instance, the line above, "May our club flourish happy, united and free," which is more like the language of the republican cotemporaries of Robert Treat Paine, than the verses of the wits of the earlier time of the first Georges or of Queen Anne, to whom the song has vaguely been attributed.

The Historical Magazine, vol. 3, p. 23, states that the tune was originally set to the song "To Anacreon in heaven," by Dr. Arnold. Many notices of Dr. Samuel Arnold, who lived from 1739 to 1802, do not support this statement, though they mention inferior music. The accompaniment is more remarkable than the poetry. Its character is strong and decided, yet it is graceful and flexible, and adapts itself with equal success to the sport of the revellers, to the anxious thoughts of the patriot prisoner, and to the exulting tones of national strength.

As an apology for this research of much length and little fruit, it may be remembered that the successful investigation of authorship of subjects for intellectual entertainment is not a waste of time for idle curiosity. The enjoyment of the works of our greatest favorites is increased by a sense of personal gratitude.*

* By the kindness of Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman, late U. S. Minister to Greece, a letter from William Chappell, Esq., F. S. A., dated at Heather Down, Ascot, Berkshire, G. B., Jan. 6, 1873, has been obtained, which gives all that can be desired, about the origin of "To Anacreon in heaven" from very high English authority in the history and the art of Music. Mr. Chappell writes that he "made a former correspondent a present of my original copy and retained only a transcript of the heading, which is as follows: 'The Anacreontic Song—as sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, the words by Ralph Tomlinson, Esq., late President of the Society. Price 6d;' with the tune, which was composed by John Stafford Smith. The latter published 'The Anacreontic Song,' harmonized by the author at page 33 'of A fifth book of canzonets catches, &c., sprightly and plaintive, * * dedicated by permission to Viscount Dudley and Ward, by John Stafford Smith, gent. of his Majesty's Chapel Royal, author * * and of the Anacreontic and other popular songs.' * * I did not take note of the date of first publication, but the song was sufficiently popular to be pirated in Scotland in 1786, it being included, with the music, in the Musical Miscellany of that year, and again in 1788, in Calliope, or the Musical Miscellany, Edinburgh, 1788. 8vo. J. Stafford Smith is said to have been born in Gloucester about 1750. The Anacreontic Club, of which Mr. Tomlinson was first (?) president, was a jovial musical society for singing choral and part-music, catches, canons and so on. I transcribe a few musical notes at the foot for identification."

The replies to the inquiries extensively made for these facts, shew that the

The song "To Anacreon" is always admired on first acquaintance, but it has not gained a place among verses which make men stronger and happier in remembering them. Though it is free from grossness, it is a bacchanalian song, and, like its subject, it must be a transient pleasure at the best. It is said that in the first flush of popularity its rhythm and music were used for poetical efforts more short-lived than itself. I do not discover that it was a favorite when Robert Treat Paine, Jr., used its measure in his spirited song, entitled "Adams and Liberty," which was written for and first sung at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society in Boston, on June, 1, 1798.

Its first words—

Ye sons of Columbia, who bravely have fought
For those rights, which unstained from your sires have descended;

And the energetic chorus—

For the sons of Columbia will never be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its waves—

Will bring to mind its high sentiments and swelling sound, well suited for musical expression and enthusiastic effect. Though it was brought out in a time of great party bitterness, and it was exclusively claimed by one of the parties, it has nothing but the language of the broadest patriotism. With all its merits, it was never universally accepted as a

above extracts will be read with great interest by scholars and musicians in this country, and the generous courtesy of Mr. Chappell will be appreciated by many who know his name and his works. The Biographical Dictionaries give the time of John Stafford Smith, from about 1750 to 1836, and mention his eminence as a musical composer. The Free Public Library of Worcester has an odd volume of Calliope, (the second), which does not contain the song.

national song, and the recent "Library of Poetry and Song," published under the sanction of the honored name of William Cullen Bryant, has rescued from oblivion "Sally in our Alley," but has no room for the Sons of Columbia. Some reasons for this failure may be briefly stated. The name of the wise patriot at the head of the government, which was a part of the title of the song, did not recommend it. The broad waves of democracy, which had begun to carry Mr. Jefferson to the highest place, for a time submerged the merits of Mr. Adams and his federal associates, and federal sentiments and federal songs lost their popular pre-eminence. This political movement, though partially unjust, was not wholly injurious, since it severed the last rope that bound our nation to the fast-anchored isle, from which it had been launched. Moreover, there was a felt, though unacknowledged, incongruity between the chorus and the condition of an increasing portion of our inhabitants, and the thoughts and feelings of the song are peculiar to the recent struggle and the escape from national peril; and the ideas of strength, prosperity and progress are not set forth as they should be in a national song.

After sixteen years, in which the tune of the Anacreontic song was seldom heard in this country or in Europe, it was applied to the pathetic verses of Mr. Key. A few words may be permitted concerning the questioned right to use this rhythm and music for an American song. Notes and Queries (2d S. V. 6, 429) quotes from "amusing letters from America" this passage. "The air of the 'The Star Spangled Banner,' which our cousins, with their customary impudence of assertion, claim as their own, is almost note for note that of the fine old English song, 'When Vulcan

forged the bolts of Jove.'" That the song "When Vulcan forged" &c., written by Thomas Dibdin, "is very little, if at all, older than the Star Spangled Banner," and its verses are not fitted to the same tune, are, to an *amusing writer*, facts "of no consequence." The quoted passage is a missile that has so often been thrown across the water, that it is worth while to pick it up and examine it for a moment. The English language and its treasures are the property of those who emigrated from the parent country and of those who remained there. And the emigrants have not been wanting in successful efforts to add something to the common store. When frauds are perpetrated against the individual producer's right to honor or profit, as has occurred on both sides, let the offenders be punished severely, as they will be, by shame and loss. But, in this case, there was no fraud and no injury. A musical composition, little regarded, was openly taken up as a neglected estray, and attached to verses, with which it was more effective than with the original words. An advantageous use gives a better right of property than a profitless discovery or invention. No one reproaches the Protestants of England that they took possession of an obscure French tune, and by a change in its movement adapted it to their taste and their religious comfort and edification, as "Old Hundred."

For a time the words of the Star Spangled Banner were occasionally sung by the cultivated and refined, but they were too sad for the spirit of a strong and ambitious people. But after forty years a cloud of anxiety and peril came over our land, that was faintly shadowed in the night watch of Mr. Key. Then strength and endurance were

gladly sought in sympathy with the devoted patriotism and confident hope that he has so strongly expressed. That darkness has now passed, and the music, that cheered it, will not be heard above the loud and joyful tones of prosperity and ambition. The instrumental accompaniment and the thrilling chorus, worthy of the most beautiful national flag on the earth, will be a constant and untiring gratification to the ear and the heart of an American. But the words now in use will not be accepted as a permanent national song.

The distinction of being the undisputed and most approved American national song is conceded to "Hail Columbia," which was written in 1798, by Joseph Hopkinson, LL.D., of Philadelphia, for the benefit of an actor named Fox. The *Columbian Centinel*, of May 2, 1798, on the shelves of your library, gives the verses as we have them, and states that "it has been sung on the boards of Philadelphia." The *Historical Magazine*, vol. 5, page 282, on authority of William McKoy, of Philadelphia, in *Poulson's Advertiser* of 1829, mentions that this song was set to the music of "The President's March" by Johannes Roth, a German music teacher in that city. And the *Historical Magazine*, vol. 3, page 23, quotes from the *Baltimore Clipper* of 1841, that "The President's March" was composed by Professor Phyla, of Philadelphia, and was played at Trenton in 1789,—when Washington passed over to New York to be inaugurated,—as it was stated by a son of Professor Phyla, who was one of the performers. The thoughts of "Hail Columbia" are elevated and refined, but they are peculiar to the circumstances of its origin. They are directed to the conflict that has just ceased, the efforts

necessary to secure its fruits, and the possibility of future peril, with a just tribute to Washington and the other heroes and statesmen on whom the nation relies. With these qualities it has never satisfied the demand for a national patriotic song, and as time goes on, it is called for, in the absence of a better, with increasing infrequency.

"Yankee Doodle" is a national property, but it is not a treasure of the highest value. It has some antiquarian claims, for which its warmest friends do not care. It cannot be disowned, and it will not be disused. In its own older words,

"It suits for feasts, it suits for fun,
And just as well for fighting."

And its easy utterance and fearless and frolicsome humor make its accompaniment welcome on fit occasions, and preserve its popularity. It exists now as an instrumental and not as a vocal performance. Its words are never heard, and I think would not be acceptable in America for public or private entertainments. And its music must be silent when serious purposes are entertained and men's hearts are moved to high efforts and great sacrifices. As a song Yankee Doodle has not a national character.

To give an account of the Saphic ode called "The American Hero," written by Hon. and Rev. Nathan Niles, and very popular in Connecticut during the revolutionary war, and to describe other abortive attempts to furnish a national song, would suit the patience of the study of an antiquary better than the small share that I can claim of this brief session. But I cannot omit to say a few words on the

recent efforts to obtain a national song by transplanting the old English anthem *God save the King*. The most acceptable of these is the anthem called *America*, beginning "My country 'tis of thee," and following the air and metre of its original. The author is Rev. Dr. Samuel Francis Smith, a professor in Colby university, and an eminent man for learning and character in the distinguished class that graduated from Harvard University in 1829. The anthem has much merit of thought and expression, but when it is sung it excites little enthusiasm, and it is easy to see that it is received with the limited satisfaction with which a man might wear a coat that was borrowed and altered. Such imitations will never be recognized as national songs. There is much evidence that the tune has, in some degree, the character of national music in Prussia at the suggestion or with the sanction of royal authority before the establishment of the Empire. But it cannot be believed that this importation will be permitted to have a place above or at the side of the peculiar national songs of which Fatherland is proud. The English anthem must be welcome there, as in France and in this country, for its excellent music and appropriate words. But a national patriotic song must be partial and exclusive, for it is designed to excite loyalty, and not to cultivate good will among nations.

*The weight of evidence is in favor of the claims of

* *Notes and Queries*, 2d s. Vol. 10, page 301. *Georgian Era*, vol. 4, page 241, and *Chambers' Encyclopædia*. Mr. William Chappell, alluding to songs supposed to be the original of the English anthem, which cannot be sung to the well-known tune, writes in a note in 7th vol. of 2d s. *Notes and Queries*, page 227, that "all that have hitherto been traced to a period earlier than the reign of George II. are of this class." There is a general acquiescence in the decision of Mr. Chappell, in 2d vol. of *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, that Dr. Henry Carey is the author of the anthem, and other authorities concur.

Henry Carey, Mus. D., who lived from 1692 to 1743, to the authorship of the poetry and music of "God Save the King." Of Dr. Carey, his friend Jean Frederic Lampe said: "His musical instruction did not enable him to put a bass to his own ballads." This noble anthem was made for the honor of George the Second, who otherwise received little honor from his subjects and their posterity. Such is the strange origin of the grandest patriotic song in the English language. We may learn what our American national song should be, by observing what the ancient model is in its several parts. The notes are emphatic as a chant, easily learned and distinctly sounded by many, so that the singers hear and are moved by the very words of their companions; and this effect is aided by the shortness of the words. Though the air is simple, it is fitted to rise with the strength of feeling. It appeals with power to loyalty, which in a monarchy is devotion to the king, his crown and dignity. It is suited to all the changes of national life, to joy or grief, to peace or war, to anxiety or triumph. It has enough of the progressive and aggressive character to gratify the Anglo-Saxon temper, and the attractive spice of party spirit is not wanting. And it is pervaded with an expression of religious trust that is more grateful to the mind of man than our philosophers are willing to admit. A patriotic song equally well adapted to our institutions would be an ornament and a strength to our nation, and an untiring enjoyment to our people.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 30, 1873.



WORCESTER:
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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1873, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The Record of the last meeting was read and approved.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., read the report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their semi-annual reports.

All the above were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., exhibited to the meeting an original manuscript, of which he presented a printed copy to the society, entitled "Relation of Virginia" by Henry Spelman, 1609. In making the presentation, Mr. HUNNEWELL presented to the society the first copy made public, of a limited edition of the contents of this manuscript, printed for him, and with great accuracy, at the Chiswick Press, London. In 1861, the late Mr. Lilly, bookseller, of London, who then owned the manuscript, announced it for publication, and thus occasioned the statement in Mr. Allibone's "Dictionary of British and American Authors," that it was then first printed. It was then, however, only imperfectly put in type; Mr. Lilly lost the uncorrected proof, and

after delay the type was distributed, and the work abandoned. At the sale of Mr. Lilly's effects, July, 1871, the manuscript that had long been mislaid and forgotten, was purchased by Mr. HUNNEWELL, who has added an introduction, and has made it, for the first time, public and in print. Mr. HENRY STEVENS, of London, kindly gave his valuable advice and assistance, in the preparation of the volume.

Henry Spelman, third son of Sir Henry Spelman, of Congham, Norfolk, was, perhaps, not over twenty-one years old when he visited Virginia. His "Relation" occupying thirty-three pages, on nineteen leaves, describes his voyage, his arrival at "James toune," and his fate after; as he says "vnKowne to me" Capt. Smith "sould me to" "ye litell Powhatan for a towne caled Powhatan." It also gives in detail, an account of the manners and customs of the Indians, among whom he lived for a considerable time.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., made some remarks on the occasion and value of Spelman's observations.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., offered for examination, a small piece of bone, carved to represent the human figure in a squatting position, and very much resembling the carvings from Central America and the North-west coast. He read the deposition of Edward Thompson, of Black Point, Me., that the bone was brought up in September, 1871, from the bottom of a well in that place, which he was engaged in deepening. Some ten or twelve inches were added to the depth of the well, and among the last bucket-fulls raised, appeared the bone in question. The entire depth was about twenty feet, and the lower strata are sup-

posed to belong to the geological period known as the "drift." The relic had been submitted to Prof. Jeffries Wyman, Prof. Putnam of the Peabody Academy of Science, and others, who deemed the matter worthy of investigation, as there could be no reason to doubt the sincerity and good faith of Mr. Thompson, or that the bone was discovered by him in the manner described.

Mr. HAVEN remarked that the bone had been sent to him by Mr. THORNTON, some time ago, without any account of the circumstances of its discovery. He had observed two points about it and mentioned them on returning the relic. One of these was that it appeared like an imitation of Central American sculptures, or perhaps those of the Northwest Coast; the other, that it seemed to be a recent production, as the cutting was sharply defined, and the bone was not discolored by time. He now thought these facts were as difficult to explain satisfactorily, if we were obliged to consider the bone a relic of the drift or pre-glacial period, as were the facts of the place and manner of the finding, if the image was of recent manufacture.

Mr. THORNTON said the bone would go to the Peabody Academy of Science, where it would receive scientific consideration.

Rev. R. C. WATERSTON said that it had occurred to him that it would be of great interest to the society to have the report of the Librarian illustrated by wood-cuts of many of the curious implements and relics therein described. In this connection, referring to his remarks at the annual meeting with reference to the importance of procuring photographs of persons and places of interest, he called the attention of the Society to the subject of the North American

Indians, now rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth, and to the recent consecration of Bishop Hare as a Missionary to the remaining tribes. The present time seemed to him a most favorable one for securing photographic pictures of some of the more noted individuals of the race, and he expressed his earnest conviction that in this way a more satisfactory representation of the physical characteristics of that nearly extinct people could be preserved, than in any other. He wished to be understood as not undervaluing the labors of Mr. Catlin's efforts in this direction; but admitting their full value, he felt that a collection of the kind proposed would be a most useful supplement to what had been accomplished by Catlin.

Mr. HAVEN concurred in the general scope of Mr. WATERSTON's observations. He apprehended, moreover, that there was danger that the paintings of Mr. Catlin might not be retained in this country.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP thought that Mr. Catlin's collection would not be allowed to leave the country, and added some remarks in relation to the possibility that by action of Congress, or otherwise, this desirable end might be accomplished.

Mr. WASHBURN now moved that the subject be referred to a committee, consisting of Rev. Mr. WATERSTON and Mr. HAVEN, with power to take such action in behalf of the Society as they should think best, which motion was unanimously adopted.

The meeting was then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

At the Annual Meeting of this society held at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston,* October 24th, 1831, as appears from the record thereof, made by the Hon. JAMES BOWDOIN, Assistant Recording Secretary, a code of By-Laws was adopted, the fifth article of which, defining the duties of the Council, provided among other requirements that :

“Twice at least in every year they shall carefully examine the Library, Cabinet, and other property, and make a report to the society of the state of the finances and the amount of the investment.”

The Council, in complying with this rule, have for many years delegated the duty of this semi-annual examination of the Library to a sub-committee, who were expected to report the result thereof to the society.

The reports of the Librarian and Treasurer are presented as parts of the report of the Council, the former officer usually giving the only detailed statement in regard to the Library.

*This was the last of the *annual meetings* convened in Boston; after that date they were held in the hall of the Society at Worcester. The spring meetings continued to be held at the Exchange Coffee House till 1836, then at the Tremont House till 1848, since which time, by the courtesy of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the meetings have been held at their library room.

Deeming it proper that, from time to time, the Committee of the Council should themselves attend so far as practicable to this semi-annual examination, the Committee who were appointed to report upon the affairs of the society at this meeting, have, through their chairman, devoted considerable time the past few weeks to this special field of their duty.

All the books in the upper hall have been actually counted; also those in the ante-rooms and lower hall, and *many* of the unbound pamphlets; the others have been estimated, but with sufficient care, it is believed, to enable the committee to report the whole number of volumes in the library with reasonable accuracy. Before stating the results of the examination, attention should be called to the reports of the Librarian and Treasurer. The report of the Librarian shows that our members and friends have made valuable additions to the library during the last six months; the number of volumes being 271, of pamphlets 3261, and of newspapers 115, besides the additions by exchange.

From an examination of the reports made by the Librarian for the past ten years, it appears that the yearly accessions to the library, by donation and otherwise, have been gradually increasing, and that members and friends have not been forgetful of the objects of our incorporation. In April, 1862, the reported additions to the library for the previous six months were 176 books and 1641 pamphlets; while for the six months ending October, 1872, the accessions were 725 books and 3155 pamphlets. The total increase, from April, 1862, to April, 1872, as computed from the semi-annual reports of the Librarian, has been 12,643 books, and 48,145 pamphlets, indicating for the ten

years an average yearly increase of about 1260 books, and about 4800 pamphlets. If we take the average for the last five years, it will be seen that our yearly contributions are rapidly increasing, as the average accessions per year, for that time, were nearly 1500 books and over 6700 pamphlets. When it is considered that a principal dependence for the enlargement of our library, is upon the generosity of members, that under the present By-Laws the number is limited to one hundred and forty in this country, and that of this number probably less than one-half thus manifest their interest, this rapid increase is peculiarly gratifying and worthy of record. It should be stated, however, that many gifts are received from persons who are not members, and from other societies, and that accessions are also made by means of our system of exchanges.

The report of the Treasurer represents that very essential department to be in good financial condition, and that the aggregate of the funds is gradually increasing. Ten years ago, the present month, the total amount of the various funds, as reported by the Hon. HENRY CHAPIN, then the Treasurer, was \$43,219, while the report presented to-day shows the aggregate to be \$78,119.84, an increase in that time of about \$35,000. Aside from the natural increase by the accumulation of interest, the funds have been augmented by the munificent gift in 1867 of \$8000 by our honored President as the foundation of a much needed building fund; which, with the addition of interest now amounts to nearly \$11,000. Liberal gifts have also been made by twelve members* of the society since October, 1867,

*The twelve donors were Nathaniel Thayer, William Thomas, B. F. Thomas, Eben'r Torrey, E. L. Davis, E. E. Salisbury, S. Salisbury, Jr., Andrew Bigelow, N. B. Shurtleff, Richard Frothingham, J. G. Palfrey, Henry Chapin.

by which the Publishing Fund has increased \$1600, amounting now to about \$10,000, the income of which is not yet adequate to our needs.

The legacy of Hon. LEVI LINCOLN, and the fund from Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, have added about \$1600 more to the aggregate. During the past six months the Treasurer has received through Dr. N. B. SHURTLEFF the legacy of \$1000 bequeathed to the society by Hon. JOHN P. BIGELOW. The sum of \$300 has also been received as a gift from Miss Nancy Lincoln, late of Shrewsbury, Mass.; and by her will, just admitted to probate, she has bequeathed \$200 more to the society. This lady, whose death occurred but a short time after the generous manifestation of her interest, was a daughter of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Worcester, who was a brother of LEVI LINCOLN, Senior, one of the original corporators.*

Both of the last mentioned additions have been placed to the credit of the Librarian's and General Fund by direction of the Council.

Notwithstanding the gratifying increase of the Publishing Fund in the past few years, it is still inadequate to its purpose; but in the hope that some portion of the outlay may be at once returned by the sale of copies, it was deemed expedient to undertake the publishing of a new edition of "Thomas' History of Printing in America." This work, which has been prepared for the press under the super-

*Mr. Abraham Lincoln for many years followed his profession as a druggist within a few feet of the present location of the society's hall at Worcester. His wife was the daughter of Col. Timothy Bigelow, of revolutionary renown. Undoubtedly the early recollections of Miss Lincoln of her uncle's interest, and more lately that of her two cousins (Wm. Lincoln and the late Gov. Levi Lincoln) in the society, caused this expression of her own desire to benefit our institution.

vision of Mr. HAVEN, and printed by Joel Munsell, of Albany, is now nearly completed, wanting only a memoir of the author, and the final revision of a catalogue of books and pamphlets printed in North America previous to 1775. This catalogue, which will be one of great value to all persons interested in the bibliography of this country, was prepared some years ago by the late Dr. S. F. Haven, Jr., son of our esteemed Librarian.

The writer of this report knows from personal observation that Dr. Haven spent much time in preparing the list of titles of early printed books, and that he entered into the work with the enthusiasm of a genuine antiquary, visiting many cities and towns for the purpose of exploring repositories of such matter, that he might make the work as complete as possible.

At the breaking out of the civil war, Dr. Haven left his profession and the literary labor he was engaged in, that he might give the benefit of his knowledge to his country, and as Surgeon of the 15th Mass. Regiment finally gave his life as a sacrifice for the great cause.

Of Dr. Haven's eminent fitness for the literary work which his departure for the war prevented his completing, there can be no question. W. S. DAVIS, Esq., of Worcester, in a memoir written for the Harvard Memorial Volume, well says: "He was endowed with a subtlety of discrimination, a love for, and a faculty in minute observation, a power of handling details, an honesty of purpose, and a rare industry, fidelity and perseverance, that could not fail of success in this department."

It should be stated that the sheets of the "History of Printing" in the hands of the printer, have been insured for

the benefit of the society, to the amount already expended upon them.

The want of a complete catalogue of the books in our library, which could be readily consulted by the members, and others wishing to avail themselves of the wealth of literary matter therein, has been before alluded to in the reports of the Council.

When it is remembered that nearly forty years have elapsed since our first and only catalogue was printed, it will be at once understood how much a new one is needed to make the treasures, which have been collected and preserved with so much care, available to those who most desire to use them. While in the present state of our finances, it is not practicable to print a supplement to the catalogue of 1836, it may be advisable to take the first steps in the preparation of it. The rapid increase in the library from year to year makes all delay in preparing the titles of the books for a future printed catalogue, an increased expense; and believing that the time has come for action in this most needed department of library economy, it is suggested that the preparation of a manuscript list of all the books not duplicates, be at once begun. The titles might be written upon cards, (a method now commonly adopted in libraries,) which, while giving the necessary material for a future printed catalogue, would also be available for immediate use in consultation.

That the preparation of a manuscript catalogue of the briefest kind is a work of time, as well as one requiring considerable outlay, there can be no question; but till it is done, our library does not answer the high purpose for which it was founded.

Our late associate, Mr. GEORGE LIVERMORE, who gave much thought to this subject, in an article upon public libraries, written more than twenty years ago, speaks in strong terms of the need of a catalogue to render a public library of the greatest use, and quoting from Carlyle says, "a great library without a catalogue is a chaos and not a cosmos."

The books in the upper hall are arranged in the alcoves by subjects, as far as practicable with the limited room now provided, and the necessity of using the lower shelves in many cases for our bound volumes of newspapers.

The Council have, from time to time, called attention in their Reports, to the need of increased accommodations for our rapidly accumulating treasures; and although the Building Fund will not be likely to admit of it at present, they would suggest, in the hope that some means may be devised to augment it, that action now be taken, looking to the enlargement of the present building at no distant date. It will be remembered that in the last report of the Librarian, he spoke of the great need of more room for the accommodation of our files of newspapers, now rapidly increasing and becoming so valuable. With this in mind, and the fact that room is also needed for a systematic arrangement of the books, it is suggested that a special committee be appointed to procure plans and estimates for the proposed enlargement as contemplated by the donor of the fund. This committee might report such plans as they deemed advisable, with a statement of the probable cost, at our next meeting, when being in possession of facts which would enable the members to act understandingly, farther steps could then be taken if deemed best.

As a result of the examination of the Library, it may be

safely stated, that the whole number of volumes, is over 53,000. Before arriving at this conclusion all the books in the upper hall, amounting to between 33,000 and 34,000 bound volumes, and those in the lower hall and ante-rooms, *were counted*, and fair estimates made of the unbound pamphlets and newspapers. In estimating the number of volumes of unbound pamphlets, an allowance of ten to a volume was made, which is believed to be a fair average, and that the number of volumes thus arrived at is not overstated. If the term book, however, were construed as by English law,—which includes “every volume, part or division of a volume, pamphlet, sheet of letter-press, sheet of music, map, chart, or plan separately published,” a course which is adopted by many foreign libraries, certainly so far as pamphlets are concerned,—our collection could be stated as comprising many thousand volumes more.

A Library of fifty-three thousand volumes, which was founded and largely increased by one who had superior facilities for collecting all kinds of printed matter, and who had, in addition, the taste and the forethought to avail himself of his opportunities, is worthy of some attention from those who are now reaping its benefits. ISAIAH THOMAS, the founder, in the practise of his profession as Editor, Author and Publisher, became as it were a practised bibliophile, and a collector of such material as would be most desired in an antiquarian or historical library. That he availed himself of these advantages our shelves give ample proof, in the many rare typographical specimens which he placed in the library.

In speaking of a large library there are various stand-points from which views may be taken of its value by

different minds, so that in calling attention to manuscripts, books, or other specimens in our collection, it is not unlikely that those about which mention is here made, may seem to many the least interesting. No particular plan was adopted in the selection of those to which special attention should be called, but only as the title or antique appearance attracted attention in the rapid counting of the volumes, was special note made of them.

In making brief mention of some of the early printed works, as well as of some of less rarity, it is with the hope that a renewed interest in the objects of the society may be induced. With the knowledge that several members have in their own libraries volumes of greater rarity and value than are upon our shelves, it is with some hesitation that allusion is made to our less interesting specimens. If current reports are true our second Vice President* has a library of extraordinary rarity, to which he is constantly adding, containing books that can be found nowhere else; while the beautiful catalogue of works relating to America, in the collection of another associate,† indicates a wealth of literary matter in this special field, not equalled by any public library in the country.

An account of the collections of some other members would undoubtedly show that Hartford and Cambridge may vie with New York and Providence in the value and interest of their private libraries.

* James Lenox, Esq., of New York.

† John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The manuscripts of the society would naturally first attract attention, and take precedence of the printed matter, because each specimen being unique in itself, has a peculiarity of value not possessed by the printed volume..

That the manuscript matter in our archives is large and valuable, would be evident to a superficial observer, and a careful examination would reveal many hidden treasures. So far as the public, and even our own members, are concerned, the variety, as well as the quantity, of written material in our library, is not revealed, except by inconvenient, personal investigation. It would seem then, that it is almost indispensable, if it is desired that they should be of practical use, as helps to antiquarian or historical study, that some means should be devised to render our manuscripts more accessible.

With the view of making this department more useful, it is recommended that a written catalogue be prepared, in which shall be recorded the titles of all complete works, whether the same have ever been printed or not, lists of the various Orderly Books of the Revolution, (of which there are a goodly number), diaries of eminent men, and of the numerous essays and more important sermons; also of the autograph letters which may prove to be of some historical or literary interest, and such other manuscript matters as may seem expedient.

This could be done without very great expense, and would not only prove of advantage to those who may have occasion to consult them, but at the same time tend to the increase of our collections in this department.

If only a brief notice is here taken of the manuscripts, it is not for the want of material, but from difficulty in deciding which of the many curious and interesting specimens should be selected for description.

The earliest manuscript volume that attracted the attention of the writer, was an illuminated missal upon vellum, supposed from the form of the letters, the illuminations, and general appearance, to have been written early in the 14th century, perhaps as early as 1304, the date which some former owner has given it. It is a 12mo volume, richly illuminated in gold and colors, which seem as clear and brilliant as though just laid on. It is one of the various gifts of a specially choice nature, received from GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq., of Hartford, and came from the collection of an amateur in Philadelphia.

Another richly illuminated volume is the manuscript of a Persian Tale or Romance. Each page has gilt borders, and there are several highly colored illustrations of the subject matter of the text. The covers, which are of wood, are ornamented, both inside and out, with representations of men and women, animals, birds and reptiles, all in bright colors.

One of the attractions in a glass case in the upper hall, is a folio volume of the Koran, in manuscript, with illuminated borders.

In the same case is an interesting specimen of chirography, written upon the inner bark of a tree, prepared by being made smooth and then rubbed over with rice water, after which it is cut into strips about ten feet long and three and a half inches wide and then folded into a square form. It is written upon with a pointed stick, using ink made from

the soot of some kind of gum mixed with the juice of the sugar-cane. This specimen is supposed to have been prepared and written upon by lettered cannibals of one of the nations of the island of Sumatra, called the Battas.

The Council have before called attention to the very valuable collection of manuscripts from the famous Mather family, among which are many of more than ordinary interest.

Of those in the handwriting of Richard Mather, who came to America in 1635, may be mentioned, the original draft of the Cambridge Platform, also that which was finally adopted, and printed in 1648.

“Answers, of the Elders to the doubts and objections against some of the passages in the Platform of Discipline agreed upon by the Synod, October 26th, 1635.”

“Answers to arguments for the Government of the Church to be in the hands of the People.” 1644.

“Observations and Arguments respecting the Government of Christian Churches.” About 1650.

“Answers to twenty-one questions from the General Court at Hartford to the General Court at Boston, 1657.”

In the handwriting of Increase Mather, President of Harvard University in 1685, we have numerous specimens, one of which is an Autobiography written for his children; there are also many sermons, essays, letters and diaries.

Sixteen interleaved Almanacs of various dates from 1660 to 1721, with manuscript notes by Mr. Mather. The almanacs are mostly American, among them Tully’s for 1688, printed at Boston by S. Green, and for 1693, printed by B. Harris, Clough’s of 1706, also Rider’s British Merlin, London, 1660.

The largest part of these interesting manuscript treasures is from the hand of Cotton Mather, minister of the North Church, in Boston, from 1684 to 1728, and the most noted of this remarkable family.

One of peculiar interest, owing to the subject discussed, is that entitled "A Brand Pluck'd out of the Burning."

This is an account of one Mercy Short, and it is supposed that it was never printed, although another, written about the same time and called "Another Brand Pluck't out of the Burning, or, More Wonders of the Invisible World," has been. In the last named tract, in speaking of Margaret Rule, Mather says: "This young woman had never seen the affliction of Mercy Short, whereof a narrative has been already given, etc." And in another place after alluding to the much talked of "White Spirit from whence they received marvellous assistance in their miseries," says "what lately befel Mercy Short from the communications of such a Spirit, hath been the just wonder of us all, but by such a Spirit was Margaret Rule now also visited." A note by Mr. Samuel G. Drake, in the edition of "The Witchcraft Delusion in New England," published by W. Elliot Woodward, says in reference to Mercy Short: "Nothing is learned of this person beyond what is found in this work." This manuscript should be printed, as it would undoubtedly throw some light upon a subject which has within the last few years provoked much discussion. It has already been copied from the original manuscript, with the idea that at some time it might be published.

Another work of interest mentioned by Samuel Mather in his *Life of Cotton Mather*, is a work of some size, called "Triparadisus." It gives the author's views upon theological

questions which were attracting public attention at the time it was written. It is thus referred to in that work, "There is likewise his *Triparadisus*, which was sent to Mr. Wyat, bookseller in London, in order to be published; since which I am informed the bookseller is dead, and I know not what has become of the manuscript. It is a pity it should be lost. It showed a great acquaintance with divine and human learning."

The manuscript was afterwards returned to the family, for our society received it from one of the descendants of the author.

Another volume, also spoken of by his son, is that entitled "*The Angel of Bethesda, an Essay upon the Common Maladies of Mankind.*" It is a thick quarto volume, treating of various diseases and their remedies. "A book in which under every disease there are proper religious, Christian sentiments for those who are sick; and then the most *simple* and *easy* medicines collected from his own knowledge and use, and from among the most noted receipts and experiments in learned writers."

Others are :

"The Observations and Reflections of the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, respecting Witchcraft," 1692.

"A Declaration of the Oppressed Brethren in the south part of Boston."

"Letters to the Brethren of the Church at New Haven, 20th, 4m." 1715.

"Letter proposing an address to the new King," (Geo. I.)

"Letter respecting the appointment of a chaplain at the Castle." Nov. 7, 1716.

A memorandum in the handwriting of Cotton Mather has relation to his suit with Mrs. G. (probably Mrs. George, his third wife). There are also diaries for various years from 1692 to 1717, notes of sermons, books of quotations, many letters written by him to Sir Wm. Ashurst, Dr. James Jurin, and others, besides letters received by Dr. Mather from prominent men of his day.

In the handwriting of Samuel Mather is a work entitled,

“The Song, the very Song of Solomon Himself, the Time of Peace, or an Honest attempt to translate and explain the same with desirable Truth and Fidelity.”

Also,

“Scriptural Philosophy. An attempt to show that the Right Principles of Natural Philosophy are contained in the Sacred Scriptures. By one of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Massachusetts Commonwealth.”

Besides those mentioned there are many letters, sermons, essays, and other manuscripts, in the handwriting of some member of the Mather family; but it is impossible to make special mention of them here. Enough has been said to denote that the collection is large and valuable.

In the report of the Librarian for April, 1866, mention is made of a collection of books and manuscripts received from the estate of Mr. Wm. B. Fowle, of Medfield. Most of the latter were from the papers of Rev. Dr. BENTLEY, who was a Councillor of the Society from 1812 to 1820.

These manuscripts, which are of much interest and value, include thirteen diaries, nineteen bound volumes of notes and memoranda upon various subjects, made by Dr. Bentley in the course of his studies, as well as a large collection of letters addressed to him by prominent men, clergymen,

noted Free Masons, and others. Among them may be mentioned letters from John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Isaiah Thomas, James Bowdoin, Jeremy Belknap, and Bishop Cheverus.

With these papers was also the manuscript of an address delivered before the Antiquarian Society by Dr. Bentley, which has never been printed.

Among the early American broadsides received from Mr. Fowle, were two of special interest in connection with the paper of our President upon the Star Spangled Banner and other National Songs. These were copies of the song of "Adams and Liberty." One of them with music, and the words by Thomas Paine, A.M., was probably printed soon after the lines were written.*

Among the many interleaved Almanacs, with manuscript notes, is a copy of the "Edinburgh Almanac," formerly belonging to the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, and also of the Congress at Philadelphia, by which last named position he became a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The date of the almanac is 1768, the year in which Dr. Witherspoon came to America; and part of the notes made in the early part of the year were written in Scotland and Ireland; consisting principally of commissions and messages to be attended to in America, for friends in Scotland, and memoranda of expenses up to the time of his sailing. The pages of the almanac for the months of July and August are missing, covering about the time he was on the way to America. The diary is commenced again soon after his

* In 1801, Mr. Paine had his name changed by the Legislature to Robert Treat, in place of Thomas, which he did not consider a "*Christian*" name.

arrival, at Princeton, New Jersey, where he was inaugurated President of the College, August 17, 1768.

We have a MS. copy of the original Connecticut Laws of 1650, presented by the Legislature in 1817. The edition of 1673 had become so rare that Mr. George Brinley, of Hartford, reprinted it in 1865.

The first "Body of Laws" of Connecticut was completed in May, 1650, but was not then printed.

The colony of New Haven printed *their* laws in 1656.

We have the original edition of the New Haven Laws printed in 1656, and from our copy Mr. Hoadly, the State Librarian of Connecticut, printed an edition in 1858.

In 1665, the two Colonies were united, and the laws of Connecticut were adopted for the new Union; and they were printed for the first time in 1673.

Our first President, besides several bound volumes of letters addressed to him by others, and copies of many of his own, had also prepared a catalogue of his library, with the deed of gift to the Society, these with a MS. copy of the "Records of the the Town of Boston from 1634 to 1658," were among his donations.

WILLIAM LINCOLN and CHRISTOPHER C. BALDWIN, both former Librarians of the Society, have left numerous manuscript evidences of their care and industry in preserving material for its collections.

Among others, prepared by Mr. Baldwin, are two volumes, containing complete indexes to Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and to Mather's Magnalia.

Mr. Lincoln, as the historian of Worcester, and the editor of the Journals of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, prepared by order of the Legislature, collected a

large amount of manuscript matter of an historical nature, which he placed in the library.

It included statistical notes, letters giving information upon the history and statistics of various towns in Worcester County, many relating to the war of the Revolution, and an interleaved copy of his "History of Worcester" with manuscript notes and corrections. We also have the original manuscript of the History as printed in 1836.

There are many other manuscripts of interest, such as the Diary of John Hull, Mint Master, an Account of a Voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613, (these have been printed by the society,) the "Schuyler Papers," and from the Mather library eleven volumes of lectures on the Revelation of St. John, by Dr. Wilkinson, of Oxford University, purchased in London in 1691, by Increase Mather. Our collection of autograph letters comprises many hundreds, some of which have been carefully arranged and mounted, others are in packages not convenient for examination. These letters represent different periods in the history of the country from the early Colonial time to the present, and many of them are of historical interest.

BOOKS.

The earliest printed book in the library (probably,) is a Latin translation of Herodotus in Roman letter, printed at Rome in 1475. This work, which came from the press only about thirty years after the first use of metal type with engraved faces, by Gutenberg, and fifteen or sixteen years after the invention of cast metal type by Schoeffer, is in perfect condition, although nearly four hundred years old.

The paper is smooth and hard, the ink very black and glossy, the letters stand out clear and well defined, so that it compares very favorably with the best specimens of the typographical art in its present advanced state. Arnold Pannartz, a German, was the printer, and the work was executed at the house of Peter de Maximis, a Roman Knight of great wealth, who in 1466 or 1467 invited the printer to set up his press at Rome. Previous to this, under the patronage of John Andreas, Bishop of Aleria in Corsica, who was Secretary of the Vatican library and a man of great learning, Pannartz had been in partnership with Conrad Sweynheim, and at the Convent of Subiaco, about thirty miles from Rome, established the first press in Italy. The Bishop furnished the manuscript, prepared the editions for the press, and the dedicatory epistles, and in many ways showed his interest in the great undertaking.* Pannartz after separating from his partner in 1473, printed several translations from the Greek into the Latin, among which was this edition of Herodotus, which must have been one of his last works, as he died of the plague in 1476.

The Colophon is :

Impressus Romæ, In domo nobilis uiri Petri de
Maximis. Anno Salutis. M.CCCC.LXXV.
Die. XX. mēsis Aprilis. Seden̄. Syxto. IIII.
Pon. Max. Anno eius Quarto. Deo LAVS.

Among the celebrated printers of the 15th century was

* These printers introduced what is now termed the Roman type in 1467, and were the first printers who used spaces between the words. In 1471 they published a Latin Bible in two vols. folio, with an epistle of the Bishop of Aleria to Pope Paul IX.

Antony Koburger (Coburger) who introduced the art of printing into Nuremburg in the year 1472. He was noted for the elegance and accuracy of his work, and for that reason was called "the prince of printers." He did an extensive business, employing many hands, and publishing numerous important works; among which were thirteen different editions of the Bible, including his splendid German Bible printed in 1483.

Ten years after, he printed the famous Chronicle, compiled by Hartman Schedel, a physician of Nuremburg, generally known as the "Nuremburg Chronicle," a copy of which, unfortunately wanting the title page, index, and some other pages, is in the library of the society.

This singular work is a folio in **Black Letter**, well printed on heavy paper, and illustrated with about 2000 wood engravings.

It professes to illustrate history from the beginning of the world down to the reign of the Emperor Maximilian, and contains curious views of cities and towns, portraits, and illustrations of Scripture history. The wood cuts are said to have been executed by Michael Wohlgemuth and William Pleydenwurff. The first named was a tutor of Albert Durer and has been called the inventor of etching.* The first illustration in the volume belonging to the society, is a representation of the garden of Eden; one part of which shows Adam and Eve in the garden eating of the forbidden

*In Jackson and Chato's "History of Wood Engraving," doubt is expressed as to Wohlgemuth's being the inventor of cross hatching or etching in wood engraving, it having been introduced in the Latin edition of Breydenbach's Travels, printed at Mentz, in 1486. There is also a doubt whether Wohlgemuth was the tutor of Albert Durer, as has been claimed for him, or that he was a wood "engraver." There are many evidences in Germany of his having been a tolerably good painter, but none that he ever engraved on wood

fruit; the other part is the expulsion, showing Adam and Eve outside the garden, and the Lord just at the entrance driving them with an uplifted sword in his hand. In the Public Library of Boston, is a nearly perfect copy of this work, formerly the property of Rev. Theodore Parker; in which are many illustrations not found in the society's copy. Among these may be mentioned several which illustrate the creation, showing, first the world while darkness prevailed, then the firmament with the sun, moon and stars, the earth represented in the centre, afterwards the creation of vegetable and animal life. In the representation of the birth of Adam and Eve, the latter is seen coming out of the side of Adam while he lies asleep.

Perhaps the most curious cuts are those representing the monstrosities of ancient fable; among them is one where a man is shown, with a hanging underlip, resembling somewhat the effect produced by a tribe of savages in Brazil, called the Botocudos, by means of a small hole made in the lip during infancy, in which is placed an oval piece of wood which is changed from time to time for a larger one, till it is sometimes two inches long.*

In Humphrey's very elaborate and beautiful work entitled "A History of the Art of Printing," is an article upon the "Nuremburg Chronicle," with a fac-simile illustration of this cut, and it says of it,

"The question naturally arises, how could the Nuremburg artist obtain a model, or drawing, to work from at a time when Columbus had not yet seen the main land of the American Continent? and this question is answered by a

* Two specimens of these oval pieces of wood are in the society's cabinet.

curious and very interesting statement in this 'Chronicle,' which is not very generally known, and which is to the effect that Martin Behaim of Nuremburg, actually visited the Brazilian coast of the mainland of America before its discovery by Columbus. It is further stated that Behaim sailed from the coast of Portugal on the 3d of August, 1492, and reached the coast of the mainland of America in the same year, returning to Europe in March, 1493."

Notwithstanding the somewhat circumstantial account from the "Chronicle" and elsewhere to the same effect in biographical notices of Behaim, the statement is not substantiated by other evidence. Although he was a geographer of some note, had made explorations in Africa, and also constructed a terrestrial globe, this apparently contemporary evidence that he visited the American Continent before 1493, cannot be accepted as trustworthy.

There is another volume of much greater rarity, and one which the writer has made the object of considerable search in typographical and bibliographical works, as well as other authorities, in the hope that it might be identified, and the date and place of publication fixed, but without success.

It is a work upon Natural History, quite fully described in the first edition of Thomas's "History of Printing," where he gives it as his opinion that it was printed as early as 1470. It is a folio, in **Black Letter**, in the Latin language, illustrated by several hundred colored wood cuts, representing plants, birds, fishes, animals, etc. Several pages at the beginning and the end of the book are missing; thus depriving us of any means of determining the date and place of publication.

De Animalibus.



De Lapidibus.



Fac-similes of some of the cuts are given, in the hope that they may lead to the identification of the volume.

Although this book is probably not of so early a date as supposed by Dr. Thomas, it was undoubtedly printed only eight or ten years later. The engravings are coarse, with but little attempt at shading, and no cross-hatching, which was introduced in 1486; which may imply that the printing was previous to that date. In one part of the volume, under the heading "*De Lapidibus*," figures are introduced; and as wood cuts with figures were not introduced into a book printed with movable types till 1461,* there would seem to be some ground for the inference that the work in question was printed between the above mentioned dates. It bears some resemblance to the "*Hortus Sanitatis*," printed at Mentz, in 1491, by Jacobus Meydenbach, that treats upon similar subjects; but the descriptions of that work, which the writer has been able to consult, do not apply to our volume.†

Among the interesting specimens of typography preserved by the founder of this society, are thirteen leaves, apparently from two or three different volumes, printed on parchment, in *Black Letter*, supposed by Dr. Thomas to date as far back as 1480. A memorandum upon one of them in his handwriting, says, "These leaves were pasted together to make pasteboard, which was used for the cover of a book printed in Brazil, in 1647. The leaves were separated by me in 1814. Thus we see how pasteboard originated."

* Pfister's Book of Fables was printed at Bamberg in 1461.

† There was an edition of the "*Hortus Sanitatis*" printed at Mentz, in 1484, by Peter Scheffer, under the title of "*Herbarus*," but we have been unable to find any description of it to compare with the volume in the society's library.

Among the collections of voyages and travels, may be particularized,

DeBry; eleven parts, issued from 1590 to 1622, in fine condition.

Purchas; wanting Part IV of the "Pilgrims."

Hackluyt; black letter folio, 1589, with the account of Sir Francis Drake's voyage inserted; also the edition published in five volumes, 1809-1812.

Grynæus; "Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica," 1 vol. folio, with map of the edition of 1537, Basil, 1555.

Ramusio; "Delle Navigationi et Viaggi," 3 vols. folio, Venice, 1563-83, 1606.

De Laet; "Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis," folio, with plates and maps, Lugd. Bat. Elzevir. 1633.

Barlæus C.; *Rerum Per Octennium in Brasilia, &c.*, large folio. Amsterdam, John Blaeu, 1647.

Rich calls this work "*fort rare*," most of the copies having been consumed by a fire, which destroyed the warehouses of Blaeu, the publisher. It is a magnificent work, profusely illustrated with maps, views, etc.

Harris; two vols. folio, London, 1705; another edition, 1766.

Olearius; "Voyages très curieux & très renomméz faits en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse." 2 vols. in one, illustrated, folio. 1719.

A fine set of Churchill's Collections, six folio volumes, edition of 1732, with the Oxford collection, 2 vols., 1745.

Drake; "Universal collection of authentic and entertaining Voyages and Travels," London, 1768.

Meares; "Voyages from China to the Northwest coast of America." London, 1790.

Moore; "Complete collection," illustrated, folio. London, 1790.

Maximilian, Prince; "Reise Nach Brasilien," 2 vols., Frankfort, 1820.

In the Report of the Council, prepared by Mr. Haven, in

October, 1867, mention is made of a volume in the library, from the Mather collection, which, from the subject on which it treats, and the general interest at this time manifested in works of a kindred nature, is worthy of being again mentioned. The title is as follows:

A | Theological | Systeme | Upon that | Presvposition
that Men were before | ADAM | The first Part: |
| London | Printed in the year 1655.

A second part was published in 1656 with the title:

| Men before Adam. | OR | A Discourse upon the
twelvth, | thirteenth, and fourteenth verses | of the Fifth
Chapter of the Epistle | of the Apostle Paul to the |
| ROMANS | By which are prov'd, | That the first Men
were crea | ted before ADAM, | London, | Printed in the
year, 1656.

The first part of this work was originally printed in Latin at Paris, in 1655; the second the following year in Holland, and appears to have been re-printed in English the same years. The author, whose name does not appear in the book, was Isaac la Peyrère, a French Protestant, who was born in Bordeaux in 1594 and died in 1676. He undertakes to prove from the Bible account, that Adam was not the first man, but only the progenitor of the Jews; that another race had existed upon the Earth long before the birth of Adam.

In the proeme to the first part, the writer says:

“It is a natural suspection that the beginning of the world is not to be receiv'd according to that common beginning which is pitched in *Adam*, inherent in all men, who have but an ordinary knowledge in things: For that beginning seems enquirable, at a far greater distance, and from ages past very long before; both by the most ancient accounts of the *Chaldans*, as also by the most ancient Records of the *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Scythians*, and by parts of the frame of the world newly dif-

covered, as also from those unknown Countries, to which the *Hollanders* have failed of late, the men of which, it is probable, did not descend from *Adam*.

I do not doubt but a great many persons who shall see the title and the intention of this book, not reading the work itself, with tongue and hand will straight fall upon this work as a new thing, and straight draw their pens, to fall upon that which they have not understood. To all whom *I* now answer; That whatsoe'r they write, *I* shall not answer them: * * * * But this especially, and most exactly *I* promise; If any man in a known case shall shew me my error; that is to say, that *I* contradict the History of *Genesis* in the least, or any other place of the holy and Orthodox scripture, which are contained in both the Testaments, or step aside from them a nails breadth, or from any head of Christian faith: First, *I* shall thank him for his teaching of me; then shall *I* not be ashamed to set down my name; nay *I* shall think it my greatest credit to fill it with capital letters in confessing my fault, which *I* detest, if any such *I* have committed; * * * * My name *I* do not now mention, for modesties sake; not as conscious of any evil action. For *I* fear lest *I* should abuse so noble a subject by the slenderness of my treatise; and lest all which *I* shall study or frame upon such high matter should be far inferior. * * * * Therefore *I* intreat my Reader he will be pleased to take this beginning howsoever in good part."

A better understanding of the scope and argument of this work upon the existence of pre-historic man, written over two hundred years ago, can be shown in a brief manner by quoting the heads of some of the chapters.

Thus chapter I, of the second book, treats

"Of the election of the Jews. The election of the Jews began from Adam, the first father of the Jews," etc.

Chapter X.

*"The Jews form'd by God in Adam. The Gentiles created by God. * * * * God called the fashioner of the Jews. Adam first father of the Jews," etc.*

Chapter XI.

"The Gentiles called strangers, the Jews a kind of men distinct in species from the Gentiles. The Gentiles earth born," etc.

Chapter I, third book.

"The original of the Gentiles is proved to be different from the original of the Jews; out of Gen. The Gentiles were created in that creation which is mentioned, in Chapter 1. All creatures, and all men, male and female, were created on the sixth day of the creation, as plants, trees, and flying fowls, upon their days through all the world," etc.

Chapter II.

"Adam was created apart from other men in that creation which is mentioned, Gen. 2. Adam was the first and father of the Jews, not of all men. The framing of Adam was altogether different from the creation of the first men. Eve could not be created the same day as Adam was made." etc.

Chapter V.

"The Gentiles proved different from the Jews out of the monuments of the Gentiles, and from the stock of Adam. Of the bundles of years which the Chaldæans had made up. Of the cave of age decipher'd by Claudian. Of the age of ages."

Chapter VI.

*"Men knew not their first history & originals. * * * * Of the stupendous number of years which the Chaldæans are said to have set down in the computation of their Astronomical Tables," etc.*

Chapter VIII.

"The most ancient creation of the world is prov'd, from the progress of Astronomy, Theology, and Magick of the Gentiles. In this Chapter the fabrick of the sphere is handled."

Chapter II, book four.

"There were writers before Moses. Genesis could not mention all. He wrote not the history of the first men but of the first Jews. The ark was not the first of ships. The vine planted by Noe was not the first vine," etc.

Chapter VII.

"That the flood of Noah was not upon the whole earth, but only upon the land of the Jews. Not to destroy all men, but only the Jews."

Chapter IX.

"This same is proved by the history of the sons and posterity of Noah. There were particular deluges. Egypt never drowned," etc.

Chapters XIII and XIV.

"The Aboriginal Nations of the world are not known.—They are deceived who deduce the originals of men from the Grand-children of Noah. Grotius, concerning the original of the Nations in America, confuted," etc., etc.

As may be supposed, the bold hypotheses contained in this work caused much excitement and great discussion, and various answers to it were said to have been written. The author having heard that his work had been condemned to the flames by the tribunal at Paris, went to Brussels, where he was arrested in 1656, by order of the Archbishop of Mechlin, but was soon set at liberty, went to Rome, where he abjured the Calvinistic faith and signed a recantation to Pope Alexander VII.

That the work was considered rare many years ago, is evinced by the fact that in the copy presented to the library of Harvard University, more than one hundred years ago, Thomas Hollis, the donor, had written: "A singular and scarce book."

Of the printed works of the Mather Family, whose writings were so numerous in the early days of the Mass. Colony, there are in the library nearly three hundred.

Of these, over seventy were written by Rev. Increase Mather, father of Cotton.

Among them may be mentioned, the *Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather*. Cambridge, 1670.

Kometographia, or a Discourse concerning Comets; also two Sermons occasioned by the late Blazing Stars. Boston, 1683.

Heaven's alarm to the World, or a Sermon, wherein is shewed, That Fearful Sights and Signs in Heaven, are the Presages of great Calamities at hand. Second impression. Boston, 1682.

Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits personating Men; Witchcraft, Infallible proofs of guilt in such as are accused of that Crime. London, 1693.

A Further Account of the Tryal of the New England Witches, with the Observations of a Person who was upon the Place several days when the suspected Witches were first taken into examination. (Collected by Deodat Lawson.) 4to, London, 1693.

Ichabod, or a Discourse showing what cause there is to Fear that the Glory of the Lord is Departing from New England. 16mo, Boston, 1701.

Burnings Bewailed. Sermon occasioned by the Lamentable Fire in Boston, of October 2, 1711. 2d edition, 1712.

The catalogue of the library has the titles of over one-hundred and fifty works by Cotton Mather, a few of which are given here.

| Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted. | A | DIS-
COURSE | Delivered unto some part of | the FORCES
| engaged in the Just War of | NEW-ENGLAND | against
the Northern & Eastern | Indians. | Sept. 1, 1689. By
Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel in Boston. Printed
by Samuel Green, 1689.

The Life and Death of the Renown'd Mr. John Eliot who was the First Preacher of the Gospel to the Indians in America. 2d Edition. London. MDCXCI.

Wonders of the Invisible World. 16mo, Boston, 1692.

Meat out of the Eater, or Funeral Discourses. Boston, 1703.

A Weaned Christian. 16mo, Boston, 1704.

The Right Way to Shake off a Viper. 16mo, Boston, 1711.

Honesta Parsimonia, or Time Spent as it Should Be. Boston, 1721.

Letters about the Present State of Christianity among the Christianized Indians of New England. 12mo, Boston, 1705.

The Stone Cut out of the Mountain and The Kingdom of God in Those maxims of it that cannot be shaken. In English and Latin. 16mo, 1716.

The Angel of Bethesda, Visiting the Invalids of a Miserable World. 16mo, Boston, 1722.

The Nightingale. An Essay on Songs among Thorns. 1724.

Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the ever Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. 12mo, Boston, 1724.

The Terror of the Lord.—Some account of the Earthquake that shook New England in the Night between the 29th and 30th of October, 1727. Boston, 1727.

Among Samuel Mather's works may be mentioned his *Life of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather.* 1729.

Fall of the Mighty Lamented. Sermon at Boston, March 23, 1738, on the Death of the Queen, etc.

There are in the library several editions of the Cambridge Platform. Among them "A Platform of Church Discipline gathered out of the word of God: and agreed upon by the Elders; and Messengers of the churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England, to be presented to the Churches and Generall Court for their consideration and acceptance, in the Lord. The Eighth Moneth Anno 1649. Printed by *S. G.* at Cambridge in New England, and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston Anno Dom: 4to, 1649." (This copy has the autograph of Increase Mather). Another copy was printed in Boston by T. Fleet, in 1731, and one by John Green, in 1749. There is also one printed by

William & Andrew Bradford, 12mo, New York, 1711.

Also one printed in London, in 1653.

Among the early tracts in the collection may be mentioned,

New England's Teares for old England's Feares, etc., by William Hooke, Minister of God's Word, sometime of Axmouth, in Devonshire, now of Taunton, in New England. Sm. 4to, London, 1641.

New England's First Fruits; in Respect, First of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of Sundry, of the Indians. Second, of the progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge. 4to, London, 1643.

The Bloody Tenent washed and made White in the blond of the Lamb. John Cotton, London, 1647, with the reply to Roger Williams's answer to Mr. Cotton's letters.

The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel among the Indians in New England. London, 1647.

The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England, etc. By Thomas Shepard. London, 1648.

The Light appearing more and more towards the Perfect Day; or a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New England. London, 1651.

Strength out of Weakness; or a Glorious Manifestation of the further progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England. London, 1652.

Veni; Vidi; Vici; The Triumphs of the most excellent and Illustrious Oliver Cromwell, etc., set forth in panegyric. London, 1652.

Tears of Repentance; or a further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; etc. Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew. 4to, London, 1653.

A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, etc. J. Eliot. 4to, London, 1655.

Wine for Gospel Wantons; or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness. Thos. Shepard. 1668.

The Unconquerable, All-Conquering, and more than Conquering Souldier, or the Successful Warre which a Believer wageth with the Enemies of his Soul. An Artillery Elec-

tion Sermon, June, 1672. By Urian Oakes. 4to, 46 pages, 1674.

Good Things to come, etc. By P. G. B., (Praise God Barebones). London, 1675.

Heart Garisoned; or the Wisdome and Care of the Spiritual Souldier above all Things to Safeguard his Heart. An Artillery Election Sermon. By Samuel Willard. 4to, 24 pages. Cambridge, 1676.

Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607 to this present year, 1677, etc. By Wm. Hubbard. 4to, Boston, 1677.

A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony, Anno. 1628, with the Lord's Signal Presence the First Thirty Years. Also, a Caution from New England's Apostle, the Great Cotton, How to Escape the Calamity which might befall them, &c., &c. Boston. Printed and sold by Benjamin Harris, 1692.

The Vile Prophanations of Prosperity, by the Degenerate among the People of God. By John Danforth. Boston, printed by Samuel Phillips, 1704.

The Doleful State of the Damned, Especially such as go to Hell, etc. Samuel Moody. Boston, 1710.

Lovewell Lamented; Or a Sermon Occasion'd by the Fall Of the Brave Capt. John Lovewell, And Several of his valiant COMPANY, In the late Heroic Action at Pigg-wacket. Pronounced at Bradford, May 16, 1725. By Thomas Symmes, V.D.M. Boston, in New England, printed by B. Greene, Junr. for S. Gerrish, near the Brick Meeting House in Cornhill. 12mo, 1725.

There is also a copy of The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, collected out of the Records of the General Court, for the several years wherein they were made and established. And now Revised by the same Court, and disposed into an Alphabetical order, and published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at Boston, in May, 1649. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, receive to themselves damnation.* Rom. 13:2. Folio, 100 pages. Cambridge, [N. E.] Printed according to order of General Court, 1660.

It is to be regretted that the notice of our collection cannot begin with the famous Mazarin Bible, the first work of Gutenberg and Faust, after the invention of printing; but probably the only perfect copy in this country is that owned by one of our members whose library has been before alluded to.*

The colophon is as follows :

* Mr. Lenox, of New York. Since this report was presented, a copy of the Mazarin Bible on vellum has been sold for £3400, or about \$20,000 of American currency, and one on paper at the same sale, sold for £2690.

Next is a Gothic Letter large 4to, bound in thick board, with brass corners and clasps, printed at Venice, in 1478. It is in good condition and perfect, except that the initial letters have been put in by the illuminator only through the book of Genesis.

The colophon is,

“Explicit biblia ꝑpressa Venetijs per Leo
nardum de vuild de Ratisbona expensis Ni
colai de franckfordia,
M.CCCC.LXXVIII.”

Another copy, printed in Venice in 1487, is in Gothic characters, 4to. Imprint, Explicit Biblia Venetiis impressa per Georgium de riuabenis Mantuanum al's Parentē. Anno dñi MCCCCLXXXVII.

There is a specimen printed by Antony Koburger of Nuremberg, in 1520, a **Black Letter** folio, with wood cuts and initial letters.

Also one in the Greek, Latin and Syrian languages, printed at Antwerp, in 1571. Another is a Latin Vulgate, large folio, in the original binding, with blind tooling on the back and sides, brass corners and clasps. Lyons, 1556, and the Biblia Sacra, Antwerp, 1538.

Another is the “Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Græce et Latine.” Engraved title pages, initial letters in gilt and colors, also in volume first, three highly colored engravings. In five vols. folio, Christopher Plantinus, Antwerp, 1569. Original binding of 1578.

Although the art of printing was introduced in England in 1474, it was not till 1526 that the Bible in the English language was first produced, and then it was printed in a foreign country; this was known as Tyndale's Bible.

The first printed by authority in England was a revised edition of Tyndale in 1539, and known as the Cranmer Bible, Archbishop Cranmer having written a prefatory notice or introduction for it. It is said that Thomas Cromwell, the Vicar General of Henry VIII., deserves the credit of it, and was really its patron, having imported the type and the men to print it. A fine copy of this **Black Letter** English Bible in folio, with the date of 1540, is in the society's library. The title page is said to have been engraved by Holbein, and the printing was done by Richard Grafton, who was also an author and a man of considerable note in his day. Cromwell was executed the year after the Bible was printed, and Grafton was imprisoned for printing it.*

The title page of the Cranmer Bible reads as follows :

"The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy Scrypture, both of ȝ olde, and newe testamēt, with a prologe thereinto, made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archbyshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches. Prynted by Richard Grafton. *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* M.D.XL."

There are several other London editions of the Bible by various printers, among them may be mentioned a folio of 1597, by Deputies of Christopher Barker. Bishop's folio of 1598. Barker's edition of 1599, (known as the Breeches

* Grafton was the printer of the first edition of Tyndale's Bible, which was printed at Antwerp, he also held a patent for printing all State papers, in the reign of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. After his return to England he was in partnership with one Whitchurch, and their names often appear together in works printed by them. It is said that in their editions of the Bible, after a certain number were issued, the form was changed and Whitchurch's name substituted for Grafton's.

Bible), this edition has Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms and Hymns in same volume. We also have Rob't Barker's **Black Letter** 4to, of 1613-14. Norton & Bell's **Black Letter** 4to, of 1621 and 1628. Among the Cambridge (England) editions we have a Black Letter 4to of 1637, "printed by the printers to the University, and a small 12mo, of 1648, by Roger Daniel. An Oxford edition of 1688, "Printed at the Oxford Arms in Lombard Street, near Pope's-Head-Alley, London, An. Dom. 1688," and an Edinburgh edition of 1610, "Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be sold at his Buith, on the north side of the gate, a little beneath the Crosse."

A Dutch Bible, folio, Amsterdam, 1690, is of interest from having the family record of a former owner. The records which are partly in Dutch are of various dates from 1701 to 1799.

There are many others of later dates, but we pass from the English to the American editions.

As is well known, the first Bible printed in America was in the Indian language, from the press of Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, in 1663. It was translated into the Indian tongue by the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle of the American Indians." Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* thus writes of it, "Behold ye Americans, the greatest honor that ever you were partakers of. The Bible was printed here at our Cambridge, and is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the World. The whole translation he writ with but *one pen*; which pen had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer case than was bestowed upon that pen with which Holland writ his translation of Plutarch."

Of this first edition of the Indian Bible, the society are fortunate enough to possess a nearly perfect copy, only the Indian title page to the Bible wanting, which has been supplied by one in fac-simile.

Of the second edition, published in 1685, there are two copies, one of them has been taken to England for the purpose of having it put in good condition and bound. The other copy, which is quite imperfect, has a special interest as containing the autograph of a former owner, Josiah Spotsher, an Indian; it also bears the marks of much use, and there are manuscript notes in the margins.

This remarkable literary production has been considered one of the rarest specimens of the typographical art in the United States, and as but comparatively few copies were known to be in existence, it commanded a high price.

For instance, at the sale of the library of John Allen, in New York, in 1864, a copy of the first edition sold for \$825, and another of the same edition but claimed to be a finer copy, was bid off at the auction sale of Mr. John A. Rice's library in 1870, for \$1050, an imperfect copy of the second edition 1685, sold at the same sale for \$126. In a late London catalogue, a copy of the first edition, with the dedication to Charles II., is quoted at £225, or about \$1100.

In October, 1846, as appears from a printed circular or programme in the library, the citizens of Natick, Mass., wishing to purchase a copy of the Indian Bible to be preserved in the archives of the town, gave a tea party to raise funds for that purpose. On this circular, besides the statement of the object, is a copy of Mr. Eliot's translation of the 100th Psalm into the Natick Indian dialect, also the English of it from the Bay Psalm Book. The tune to which it was

to be sung was copied from "Ainsworth's Psalms in Metre," "Imprinted in the year MDCXVIII," at Amsterdam, said to be the tune to which Eliot's Indians actually sang the Psalm.

In this connection it may be stated that there is in the library a copy of the Bay Psalm Book, printed at Cambridge, in 1640, the first volume printed in British America. It is in the original parchment binding, and with the exception of the title page is in perfect condition.

Mention may properly be made here of some of the rare tracts in the Indian language which are to be found in the library. Of these rare and valuable specimens, numbering only eight or ten, the titles of four or five are here given.

"Manitowompae Pomantawoonk." Practice of Piety, by Lewis Bailey, translated into Indian language by John Eliot. 8vo, Cambridge, N. E., 1665.

| "Nashauanittue Meninnunk | wutch | Mukkiesog, |
| Wassesèmunum wutch Sogkodtunganash | Naneeswe Testamentsash ; | wutch | Ukkesitchippèongano Ukketeah-ogkounooh. | Noh asoowésit John Cotton. This is John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for American Babes. Translated by Grindal Rawson. 12mo. 14 pages. Printenuop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Bartholomew Green*." 1691.

"Sampwutteahae Quinnuppekompauaenin. Wahuwómok oggussemsuog Sampwuttachae Wunnamptamwaenuog, &c. Noh asoowésit Thomas Shepard. This is Shepard's Sincere Convert, translated into Indian by the Rev. John Eliot, and was licensed to be printed by Grindal Rawson." 12mo, 164 pages. Cambridge, 1689.

"A confession of Faith owned and consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12, 1680." In the English and Indian languages. Boston, re-printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, 1699.

"The Massachusetts Psalter, [Massachuessee Psalter:] or Psalms of David, with the Gospel according to Saint John," etc. In columns of Indian and English, being an In-

troduction for Training up the Aboriginal Natives, in Reading and Understanding the Holy Scripture. Boston, N. E. "Printed by B. Green and J. Printer,* for the Honorable Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," etc. 1709.

This notice of the collection of Bibles should not be concluded without mentioning the fact that there is a fine copy of Thomas' folio Bible, printed in Worcester, Mass., in 1791. This, the first folio Bible in the English language published in America, is handsomely bound in full calf, probably under the direction of Mr. Thomas himself, and derives additional interest from the fact that it was undoubtedly printed in a building which stood nearly upon the spot now occupied by the hall of the society. Mr. Thomas also published editions of the Bible in 4to and 12mo form, and there are specimens of both in the collection.

A copy of the Bible in two volumes, folio, "from the hot-press of John Thompson," Philadelphia, 1778, is of interest as a beautiful typographical specimen.

There is not space to speak of the Bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Welsh, Irish, Chinese, and other languages, to be found on the shelves, and but briefly of the various copies of the New Testament.

Of the many early editions of the New Testament, may

* This was James, the Indian printer, who when a child was sent to an Indian charity school at Cambridge, and taught to read and write the English language. In 1659 he was apprenticed to Samuel Green, the printer, and was employed by him as a pressman in printing the first edition of the Indian Bible. During King Philip's war James left his master and joined his brethren in arms, but afterwards returned to Green and assisted in printing the second edition of the Bible. Mr. Eliot, writing to Robert Boyle, of London, in 1682, speaking of the second edition of his Bible says, "I desire to see it done before I die, and I am so deep in years that I cannot expect to live long, besides we have but one man, viz., the *Indian printer*, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding."

be mentioned a Latin 8vo, Antwerp, 1520. A 16mo Latin, printed by Robert Stephens, 1541. A French edition, 32mo, 1553. An edition in Latin, Basiliae, 1526. One printed by Robert Barker, (Fulke's edition,) folio, 1601, another by Augustine Mathewes, folio, 1633, (this is also Fulke's edition, from the version of 1611). One in Greek and Latin of 1627. Besides which are copies in Irish, Bengale, Sclavonian, Turkish, and one in two vols. folio, 1599, in twelve different languages.

It has been somewhere stated that the most complete collection of American School Books is that in the library of the British Museum ; if this is true it is certainly a cause for regret. Our own library however, indicates that quite a beginning for such a collection has been made in this country; for nearly 1100 different volumes in all departments of Education are now to be found upon our shelves.

The volumes of city, town and county histories, a catalogue of which was published a short time since, number over seven hundred, and additions are constantly being made.

Although no special enumeration has been made of the Biographical and Genealogical works, it may be stated that the collection is large and valuable.

The collection of Almanacs is large, including many of early dates ; and with the Registers and Directories of cities and towns, numbers between two and three thousand.

Almanacs are now considered a special branch of popular literature, and as indicating the advance of the human mind upward from the stages of superstition and ignorance to more enlightened ideas. A large amount of valuable statistical, political and agricultural information, is now dif-

fused by means of these works, instead of the astrological predictions and other absurdities which anciently composed the greater part of their contents. They formerly constituted quite an important part of the country's literature, and were more generally circulated than newspapers.

Among the earlier almanacs in the library may be mentioned Johnson's, London, 1617; T. S. Philomathemat, 1656; Israel Chauncey's, Cambridge, 1663; Alex. Nowel's, Cambridge, 1665; Josiah Flint's, Cambridge, 1666; Nath'l Mather's, Boston, 1686. The last five were printed by Samuel Green, the printer of Eliot's Indian Bible. Of later dates are Farmer's, by N. W., a Lover of Truth, Boston, 1744, (this has a wood-cut portrait of Queen Anne); the Rhode Island Almanac, Newport, of 1728 and for several years after; the American Almanac, printed by Wm. Bradford, New York, 1730; Poor Richard's, printed by Benj. Franklin; Stearns', Ames', Low's, Weatherwise's and Bickerstaff's for various years. Of almanacs printed by Isaiah Thomas, there is a set from the beginning in 1772,* to 1802, when Isaiah Thomas, Jr. assumed the publication. The issue for 1772 has a wood-cut illustration of the Boston Massacre, and a portrait of Christian VII., King of Denmark.

NEWSPAPERS.

In the work upon "Journalism in America from 1690 to 1872," by Frederic Hudson, it is stated that the whole number of daily and weekly newspapers published in the United States in the year 1870, was 4967, and the aggre-

* The Almanacs for 1772 - 1773 were printed by Thomas, but are not strictly of the series, that for 1775 being the first *called* Thomas's Almanac. This contains a wood-cut intended as a portrait of Hannah Snell, the female soldier.

gate issue, during the year, reached in round numbers, 800,000,000 daily, and 600,000,000 weekly papers. If to these amounts be added the yearly issues of literary and political periodicals, the aggregate for that year would be over 1,500,000,000 copies.

This immense circulation gives us some idea of the great power and influence exerted by these publications, and also shows the value and importance of a collection of the leading newspapers as helps in historical and antiquarian study.

This department of the society's collections may be termed one of the strongest, and is referred to with some degree of pride and satisfaction. There are in the library over 4000 volumes of newspapers, about 2800 of which are bound, besides many miscellaneous papers not in complete volumes.

The first newspaper published in America was "The Boston News Letter," published by John Campbell in 1704, sixteen volumes of which, not however entirely complete, are in the possession of the society.*

There are seven early volumes of "The New Hampshire Gazette," started in 1756, the oldest established newspaper in the United States, now published.† Also, several vol-

*One number of a paper called "Public Occurrences, both Forreign and Domestik," was printed in Boston by R. Pierce for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House, Sept. 25, 1690, but as its publication was discontinued after the issue of this number, having been suppressed by the provincial authorities, the News Letter may properly be called the first established newspaper in America. (A full description of this paper of 1690 may be found in the Historical Magazine for August, 1857.)

It is said that the first sheet of the first number of the News Letter printed, was taken damp from the press by Chief Justice Sewall, to show to President Willard, of Harvard University, as a great curiosity.

†In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1872, will be found an interesting historical notice of the Gazette, by Frank W. Miller, with a fac-simile of the first number.

umes of the Newport Mercury established in 1758, the Connecticut Gazette in 1763, and the Connecticut Courant in 1764, the next oldest of the papers of the United States still in existence. The Massachusetts Spy stands 6th, and of this paper the set in our library is nearly complete.

The files of The Polar Star, or Boston Daily Advertiser, the first daily paper started in Boston, are nearly complete; it was commenced in October, 1796, but was published only about four months.* Two other attempts to establish a daily paper in Boston under the name of Advertiser, were made, one in 1798, the other in 1809. Neither of them was successful and it was not till March, 1813, that the present Boston Daily Advertiser was started, which has since been carried on with such success.

The founder of our Society, as the editor and publisher, for many years, of the Massachusetts Spy, one of the most important newspapers in New England, had abundant opportunity to obtain by his exchanges and otherwise, a valuable collection of early papers of the country. These became with the rest of his library the property of the society. The high standing of the Spy while conducted by Mr. Thomas may be inferred from the following extract taken from "A Narrative of Newspapers," printed in the "Collections of the Mass. Historical Society" for 1799. The writer there says of it, "It did infinite service in diffusing a knowledge of facts, and some of the best written pieces that have appeared in our American periodical publications," etc. Of the printer, he says, "He deserves great credit and has received much applause for his industry and

* The first Daily Advertiser of Boston was printed by Alexander Martin, corner of Water street and Quaker lane.

enterprising spirit, which have led to very considerable improvement in the line of his business, and gained for him the name of the American Baskerville."

The first number of the *Spy* was printed at Boston, Tuesday, July 17th, 1770, by "Zachariah Fowle, printer, in Back street, and by Isaiah Thomas, printer, in School-House lane, near the Latin School." In December of the same year, Mr. Thomas, who had become the sole proprietor, discontinued it till March 7th, 1771. Upon its first publication it had a subscription of less than 200, but it increased so rapidly that in two years it had more subscribers than any other paper in New England.

At the commencement of the war in 1775, Mr. Thomas left Boston and went to Worcester, where he again published his paper, the first number being dated May 3d, 1775. A copy of this number, now in the library, and which contains an account of the battle at Lexington, has written upon it in the handwriting of the publisher, "This newspaper is the first thing ever printed in Worcester."

In a letter written by Mr. Thomas, Oct. 2d, 1775, now in the possession of the society, he says in relation to his removing from Boston to Worcester, that he asked the advice of some members of the Congress at Watertown as to the propriety of removing his printing office from Boston, owing to the troubles there. "The Hon. Gentlemen informed me that they thought it *highly requisite* I should *immediately* remove myself and printing material out of Boston, as in a few days it might be too late. I accordingly went, and as soon as could be, packed up my press and types, and in the dead of night stole them out of town. Two nights after this the troops went to Lexington, and the next evening

Boston was entirely shut up. - I escaped myself the day of the battle and left everything, my tools excepted, behind me."

The *Spy* was discontinued again in 1786 for about two years in consequence of a stamp tax on newspapers, but in its place was published the *Worcester Magazine*, in a form which escaped the tax.* After the repeal of the tax, the publication in newspaper form was resumed and continues at the present time.

The early files of the *Spy* are especially valuable, containing much historical information, particularly of facts connected with the war of the Revolution, the publisher taking great pains to secure, by correspondence and otherwise, reliable news from the seat of war.†

There are many other newspapers of special interest which might be mentioned, if the limits of this report would permit, such as the *Boston Gazette*, (the second newspaper in America) of which there are several volumes, between the years 1719 and 1753, and specimen volumes of the *Boston Post Boy*, first published in 1734, also *Rivington's Royal*

* Complete volumes of the *Worcester Magazine* for 1786 and 1787, copies of which are in the society's library, have now become very scarce.

† As an illustration of the value of the *Spy* as a source of original historical information, it may be said that in an address before the Vermont Historical Society, in October, 1872, by the Hon. Lucius E. Chittenden, allusion is made to the question, who was in command at the capture of Ticonderoga? and the *Spy* is quoted as containing an early account of the expedition; and in the appendix it is added, that "this account, published in the *Worcester Spy*, May 17, 1775, endorsed by the editor as being 'furnished by a correspondent whose veracity can be depended upon,' is probably the earliest published contemporary account of the capture." It also appears to be the source from which the London magazines of that date made up their notices of the expedition.

Fac-similes of the first number of the *Spy*, printed in Boston, July 17, 1770, and the first number issued in Worcester, May 3, 1775, were published by the present proprietors of the paper, (J. D. Baldwin & Co.) on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of its establishment.

Gazette,* and Gaines' Gazette, published in New York while the city was occupied by British troops.

THE CABINET.

The Cabinet of the society, which contains the Indian and other ancient relics, coins, medals, Colonial and Continental paper money, and the miscellaneous curiosities, though not large, possesses many specimens of interest. The department of Indian and other relics includes many specimens of value, which have been carefully arranged in upright glass cases and a brief descriptive catalogue of them prepared, under the superintendence of STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR., and WILLIAM A. SMITH, Esqrs.

That this department has not increased much in the past few years, is to be regretted, for such specimens would seem to be of special consideration to a society which has among its prominent objects the collection of everything tending to elucidate pre-historic ages, as well as the habits and customs of the aboriginal races in America.

The collection of coins and medals, numbering several hundred specimens, includes many Roman coins from the reign of Julius Caesar (B. C. 44) down to the 15th century, a fair representation of the early American metallic currency, as well as others of more than ordinary interest. In their present state, however, arranged in drawers, out of sight and inconvenient of access, they are practically of little use; but in "that good time coming," when the addition to our hall shall have become an accomplished fact, it is hoped provision will be made for a proper display of these historical emblems.

* Major Andre's "Cow Chase" is printed in Rivington's Gazette of 1780, the last canto being published Sept. 23d, the day Andre was captured.

The already great length of this report prevents any particular mention of the Continental, Colonial and other paper money, most of which has been arranged in bound volumes where it can be easily consulted. It may be stated, however, that among the rarer specimens in this department are the one, two and three penny pieces of Massachusetts fractional currency of 1722, printed on parchment.

While the outside of the society's building in Worcester, may be thought plain and unattractive, the inside is rendered pleasing and interesting, not only by the rare volumes upon the shelves, but also by the one hundred and twenty-five portraits, and other specimens of the painter's and engraver's art that adorn the walls. Among the portraits, are those of the founder, and of Thomas L. Winthrop and John Davis, former Presidents of the society. There are also portraits of Increase and Cotton Mather, Gov. John Endicott, Thomas Prince, Dr. William Bentley, and others, prominent in Massachusetts history. Additional attractions are the large statues in plaster, of Christ and of Moses, copied from the originals of Michael Angelo, and presented to the society by our honored President; these, with the busts in marble and plaster, add to the gratification of those who visit the rooms.

DUPLICATES.

Our duplicate books, pamphlets and newspapers, are now arranged and classified for the purpose of exchange. As it is by means of our system of exchanges that many valuable additions have been made in the past, special attention is called to this department, in the hope that it may become of still greater benefit in the future. Mr. Barton, the assist-

ant librarian, who has the matter in charge, will give information as to the classes of books and pamphlets among the duplicates to any who desire to avail themselves of this opportunity.

In concluding this partial and desultory notice of the society's collections, it only remains to say that it is offered with the hope that it may give some idea of the extent and value of the library and cabinet, and perhaps create an additional interest in their behalf.

But, as has been often stated, if the Antiquarian Society desires to maintain its standing and reputation among others of a similar character, it will be necessary to increase its publications, from the valuable manuscript matter in its possession, or from papers to be prepared by its members.

In accordance with a custom observed by the Council, it becomes their sad duty to announce that two of our associates have been removed by death since the last meeting.

REV. JOSEPH ALLEN, D.D., died at Northborough, Mass., on Sunday, February 23d, 1873, aged 82 years, 6 months and 8 days. He was born in Medford, Mass., in August, 1790, graduated at Harvard University in 1811, and studied theology with Dr. Henry Ware, Hollis Professor of Divinity. Dr. Allen was ordained *Minister of the town* of Northborough, October 30, 1816. In 1849 he went as a delegate to the Peace Congress in Paris, also visiting many places of interest on the Continent and in England, and on his return gave an account of the deliberations of the Congress, by invitation of several towns in Worcester County.

During his long pastorate, (over fifty-six years) he became much endeared to his own people, as well as highly esteemed by all his townsmen. He was deeply interested in the

common school system of Massachusetts, was for many years actively interested in the schools of his own town, and was ever ready to do what he could to encourage any educational movement. He was an earnest worker, exerting an influence widely extended, and always usefully applied.

Dr. Allen was quiet and simple in his tastes, living a life of active virtue as a faithful pastor and a Christian gentleman, without aspiring to a higher position or a more varied field of action. It is not proposed to pronounce his eulogy here. That has been done elsewhere by those more intimately acquainted with him, and therefore better able to portray his many virtues, and to express the love and respect which he inspired. Dr. Allen became a member of this society in July, 1826, and, at the time of his death, must have been one of the oldest members living.

Among the published works of Dr. Allen may be mentioned,

An Historical account of Northborough. July, 1826.

A Minister's account of his Stewardship. A Sermon on completing the twenty-fifth year of his ministry. 1841.

Early Lessons in Geography and History, for Schools. Of which several editions were published, the first in 1825.

An Address at the Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of Northborough, August 22d, 1866.

A Half-Century Sermon on the Fiftieth Anniversary of of his Settlement in Northborough. October 30, 1866.

The Worcester Association (of Ministers) and its Antecedents. A History of Four Ministerial Associations. 1868.

CHARLES FOLSOM, Esq., died at Cambridge, on Friday, the 8th day of November, 1872, aged 77 years. He was born in Exeter, N. H., was a student at Phillips Academy in 1809, and graduated at Harvard University in 1813.

After leaving College he taught school for a short time

in the State of Maine, but returned to Cambridge after a year or two, to study theology, and not long afterwards was appointed a chaplain in the Navy. He went to the Mediterranean with Commodore Chauncey, and remained abroad for some time, occupying for a while the position of Consul at Tunis.

From 1821 to 1823 he was tutor at Harvard College, afterwards its librarian, also an instructor in Italian, and for many years he was the highly esteemed librarian of the Boston Athenæum. Mr. Folsom was a man of superior literary abilities, and was distinguished for his knowledge of classical literature, his accurate learning, and the diligence and conscientiousness manifested in the various positions which he held. He published an edition of Cicero's Orationes, and the History of Livy, with valuable notes; and was also one of the editors of the "Select Journal of Foreign Literature," in 1833 and 1834. He was a gentleman of great modesty, unambitious for his own advancement, but ever ready and willing to give the benefit of his superior learning to others, whether friends or strangers, without thought of praise for himself. He became a member of this society in October, 1819, and from October, 1853, to October, 1872, was a member of the Council. He wrote the annual report of the Council in October, 1859, and at various times presented papers prepared with the scholarship and accuracy for which he was distinguished. His kind and genial face will long be missed at our semi-annual gatherings, and both old and young among us will alike remember him with pleasure, and honor his memory.

For the Council.

NATHANIEL PAINE.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

IN the list of Donations attached to this report will be found the usual account in detail of the number and character of those accessions. When the gifts are in quantities, having nothing specific or personal about them, it is customary to mention them in general terms, as so many of this or that class; for it would be inexpedient, if not impracticable, to include the names or titles of masses of pamphlets and miscellaneous books in a paper having the purpose of our semi-annual statements. It is intended that special points of interest shall be referred to when space will permit, and it may be thought desirable for any reason to call attention to them. While these reports are in some sense *records*, it would defeat one of the objects for which they are required to make them so voluminous and statistical as to repel or weary the attention of hearers and readers. Where an author presents his own publications the titles are noted of course, however numerous they may be, and it is presumed to be agreeable to the society to have pointed out what productions have been received from authors who are members of their own body.

Your Librarian has heretofore found an advantage in selecting some particular department or province of the library for special notice, as presenting a definite object of

consideration, and as apt to be attended with greater practical results than where the subjects alluded to are more numerous, and are made less prominent and distinct. There is a necessary limit to such a practise, but it has proved useful in various ways.

The account now rendered is brought down to the fifteenth of the present month ; making an even period of six months from the termination of the account rendered in October. Whatever has been received since that date will go into the next report.

The accessions by way of gift consist of two hundred and seventy-one books, three thousand two hundred and sixty-one pamphlets, one hundred and fifteen volumes of newspapers, (all but four of them unbound), forty-five engravings, nine maps, and six photographs.

Two hundred and seventy-five books and one hundred and fifty-two pamphlets have been derived from exchange, and three books and eighty-seven pamphlets have been purchased. The aggregate of accessions is five hundred and forty-nine books, three thousand five hundred pamphlets, one hundred and fifteen volumes of newspapers, forty-five engravings, nine maps, six photographs, thirty-two coins and medals, two Indian stone implements, and parcels of cards and handbills.

Some of the larger lots are from persons out of the association. It fortunately happens, occasionally, that gentlemen breaking up housekeeping, instead of transferring the literary contents of closets and attics to the paper maker, are so considerate as to consign them to our care, with the modest expression of doubt upon the point of utility to which miscellaneous collections are wont to be subjected. But

many of our friends have learned that literary nothings, like arithmetical ciphers, have their value materially altered by a mere change of place; and grow largely in importance when made part of a series having a scientific or historical significance. Like some of the humbler coins, they may rise to a high pecuniary appreciation, simply because so few people have thought them worthy to be preserved.

It will be noticed that among the authors whose publications have come to the library from themselves, are our President, Mr. Salisbury, and Messrs. George Chandler, John G. Palfrey, Edward Jarvis, Lewis H. Morgan, Horace Davis, Thomas C. Amory, Pliny E. Chase, Charles Deane, L. A. H. Latour, J. H. Trumbull, Isaac Smucker, S. C. Damon, and Alexander S. Taylor, members of the society. A great disappointment has attended the publication of Dr. Chandler's *Chandler History*. This large and elaborate work, of 1,241 pages, the result of careful and long-continued industry and much cost in money, was printed, and nearly ready for distribution, when the great fire occurred in Boston, and all but a few copies were destroyed in that conflagration. The matter is preserved, but the loss of nearly an entire edition, printed at private expense, will excite the sympathy of his literary friends.

In looking over these productions of associates it is found that, excepting the papers of Mr. Chase and Dr. Jarvis, which belong rather to the province of science in its more technical sense, they are such as would have supplied appropriate contributions to a volume of transactions issuing from the society as a body. But our President's popular essay on the Star Spangled Banner and National Songs, Mr. Mor-

gan's learned treatise on the Australian System of Kinship, Mr. Deane's monogram on the death of Matthew Cradock, if extended as it might well be in his hands, Major Latour's account of the origin, utility and progress, of the Catholic institutions of Montreal, Mr. Trumbull's essay on Some Words derived from the languages of the North American Indians, Mr. Davis's record of Japanese vessels driven on the Northwest Coast of America, which has already had a place in the Proceedings of the society, two of Mr. Amory's always attractive and instructive sketches, "A Home of the Olden Time," and "Our English Ancestors," Mr. Smucker's Pioneer Papers of Western Adventure and History, Dr. Damon's Historical articles, in his newspaper at Honolulu, to which he added an interesting autograph letter from John Buffet, the Patriarch of Pitcairn's Island, and Mr. Taylor's descriptive proposals for the collection and publication of his numerous newspaper contributions relating to the Bibliography, and what he terms the "*Indianology*" of California, remind one of what resources of appropriate and varied learning and ability the society should have the command for Memoirs and Transactions, without referring to other examples furnished in the reports of the Council. There is no lack of material for publication in the society's manuscript collections ; but a volume made up of contributions from members, exhibiting the variety of topics and treatment to be anticipated from them, would probably prove highly advantageous to the institution.

Hon. John C. B. Davis has sent to the library a portion of the documents growing out of the Geneva Arbitration. His own part in that great public event has been too honora-

ble and conspicuous for a brief and hasty notice ; and he has preferred that no public acknowledgment of the gift should be made at this time.

In the last report on the library, particular attention was asked to the department of *newspapers*, as in previous cases it had been invited to our collection of periodical literature, to miscellaneous tracts, to broadsides and hand-bills, and the minor forms of printed matter. It may be desirable now to have something said of our cabinet of aboriginal relics.

In 1868, a committee of the society, consisting of Messrs. William A. Smith and Stephen Salisbury, Jr., was appointed to examine our cabinet, with a view to its re-arrangement in cases better adapted to its inspection and preservation. A descriptive report was rendered by them, which was printed with the Proceedings of the April meeting of that year. It shows the possession of a considerable number; and a fair variety, of specimens of the different forms of implements, weapons, utensils and ornaments, made and used by the North American Indians—with a few from the central and southern portions of the continent. The committee stated in conclusion that from the account there given it would “be seen that specimens of sculpture, in the form of pipes and otherwise, articles made of crude copper, and vessels of stone and pottery, are much wanted to perfect our collection.”

Since that period some additions have been made, but the cabinet remains much as it was then ; not a remarkable one, but a very respectable representation of the arts and industrial habits and capacities of the aborigines of this country preceding the arrival of Europeans. There are apt to be mixed with such collections stone implements from the

Pacific Islands and elsewhere, but they can generally be distinguished by the character of the mineral of which they are constituted, and also by slight differences of shape. A very beautiful hatchet from our Treasurer, Mr. Paine, which is acknowledged among the donations in this report, is clearly extra-continental in its origin. There are certain characters indicative of local origins; and notwithstanding the very remarkable resemblance, approaching identity, in each class of stone implements the world over, there are certain distinctive features belonging to regions and countries, which are detected by careful scrutiny and comparison.

It is only recently, within a very few years, that such relics have acquired the historical importance now ascribed to them. Everywhere in New England, and in many other places, they were numerous upon the surface of the ground, or were turned up in the cultivated fields. There was no mystery about them. The race of people who made and used them was not extinct among us. We knew exactly what kind of beings they were, their manner of life, and how, and for what purposes, the rude implements were employed, or could easily learn these facts by the slightest investigation. Only the more perfect specimens were deemed worthy of preservation. In almost every farmhouse there were some of them. Many young persons, and sometimes older ones, were led, by the instinct of collection, to accumulate and classify the varieties; and colleges and academic or scientific associations were forming cabinets, because it was felt that in process of time they would be regarded with curiosity and wonder. Our own cabinet was one of the largest and most complete. The similarity in form and material, from whatever portion of our country

these remains were gathered, created an impression that numbers of specimens and assignment of localities, were not of great consequence if the forms were perfect and the classes fully represented.

The condition of things in older countries was very different. In Great Britain, for example, where such primitive relics have proved to be almost equally abundant, they received little attention from the learned, while by less cultivated persons they were universally regarded with superstition. The hatchets and larger implements were held to be thunderbolts. If they had not been actually seen to fall from the sky, they were found after heavy showers where they had not been noticed before, and the inference was drawn, not that the earth had been washed from over them, but that they came down with the rain. The smaller chipped and pointed flints were elf-arrows, shot by that anciently recognized British constituency, the Fairies. Hence they were used as charms, sometimes set in gold and silver, and worn with religious reverence. The hatchets, chisels, &c. were boiled in water, and the liquid applied with great confidence for the cure of rheumatism and other disorders, or given to sick cattle as a drink.*

This pharmacy of flints took its place by the side of that of herbs, and no prejudice existed against the administration of *such* "mineral medicines." It is a remarkable coinci-

* In Adair's History of the American Indians, London, 1775, the author, who had been a trader among them, speaking of their arrow heads, says: "The latter sort (flint ones), our forefathers used, which our witty grandmothers call elf-stones, and now rub the cows with, that are so unlucky as to be shot by night fairies. One of those flint arrow points is reckoned a very extraordinary blessing in a whole neighborhood of old women—as a preservative against every bewitching charm."

See also "Folk-Lore," in Flint Chips, by E. T. Stevens, London, 1870, pp. 87-89.

dence that when it was discovered that arrow heads and axes of stone were common to every known region of the earth, it was found too that amid all older civilizations, where their use had been remote beyond the reach of history or tradition, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa, they were held in the same superstitious estimation. In the provinces of eastern Europe and Asia, in China, Japan, and some parts of Africa, stone axes and hatchets were termed thunderbolts or lightning stones, and arrow heads were believed to be of supernatural origin. A rational interpretation of their derivation and purpose is rare in classical and even in comparatively modern literature. Stone hatchets were called thunder stones in the days of Pliny; while as instruments of sacrifice, and in other sacred rites, the flint knife was religiously employed by ancient nations long after their advancement in the arts, and familiarity with the use of metals.

It is little more than twenty years ago that stone utensils, found in geological associations, and other circumstances, implying a degree of antiquity beyond all previous conception, were pronounced by many wise men to be natural formations; and it is only about half that period since their presence in all countries in very remote ages has been clearly demonstrated, with the fact of their gradual improvement in mechanical excellence, and variety of form and finish, through eras of geological changes of destructive violence, or of duration almost above our capacity to measure. Discovery and science have been working hand in hand till the belief has become prevalent that the foundation of human history, as seen in nature, independently of revelation, has been reached, and that those little and once insignificant productions of the rudest efforts of industry are the inter-

preters of man's first existence and earliest condition upon earth. It is still however as *man*, with all of man's physical development, that they present him, and with no decided evidences of mental deficiency; wanting only the maturity and culture which it seems the gradual experiences of many generations, retained and accumulated, are requisite to produce.*

So suggestive of great questions have these pre-historic revelations proved to be, that they now occupy the largest share of consideration among the leaders of archæological science in European communities. Articles of the age of stone are sought with avidity and studied with patient attention. Learned men write learnedly about them; describing them with exhaustive minuteness, and classifying them with as particular care as would be thought essential in the case of phenomena pertaining to the exactest sciences.

What then is our position in relation to this branch of archæology, become so prominent and important, and what

*The official investigation of the caverns near Mentone, in Italy, by Emile Rivière, under the direction of the French Minister of Public Instruction, during March, 1872, resulted in the discovery of the skeleton of a man supposed to be of the Palæolithic period, and the oldest known specimen of the human race. It is stated that in this the cranium is well formed and well developed, and the stature not less than six feet. The facial angle is fine (nearly 85 degrees), there is no prognathism, and the skeleton no more resembles that of an ape than does a modern skeleton.

"Découverte d'un Squelette Humain de L'Epoque Paléolithique, dans les cavernes des Baousses-Rousse, dites Grottes de Menton, par Emile Rivière, Officier D'Académie, etc., Paris, 1873.

Of the two skulls heretofore regarded as the most ancient—that from the Engis cave near Liège, and that from a cave in the Neanderthal near Dusseldorf—the first, which is the most unequivocally ancient, approaches the highest or Caucasian type, while the other, which has not such decided claims to antiquity, is, in capacity, nearly on a level with the mean of human extremes. Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, chapter V. See also, LeHon. "L'Homme Fossile en Europe," pp. 35-37, 58, 59, and 100, 101. The connecting link between the *Homo Anthropos* and the *Homo Pithekos*—the anthropos and the anthropoid—has not yet been found.

are we in this country able to contribute towards its elucidation or illustration?

The Stone Age, by its chief expositors, is divided into two periods, separated by myriads of *years*, or of *centuries*, and distinguished by diversity of character and workmanship, and by surrounding peculiarities of animal and vegetable life. The divisions are designated severally as the Palæolithic Age and the Neolithic Age. The first is marked by the form of the implements, which were rudely shaped, and never ground or polished, and by their geological position; also by the absence of pottery, and by the presence of the remains of certain groups of animals long extinct, as well as by atmospherical conditions, indicative of a very distant era in time.

In the Neolithic age some of these animals had disappeared, the implements varied from the first, partly in form, and partly in being ground and polished, and pottery had been introduced. It is alleged that no implements of the Neolithic period have been found under circumstances enabling us to assign them to the Palæolithic period.

On turning to our own country, we are met at the outset by the statement that the divisions adopted in Europe are not applicable to American antiquities in the present state of our knowledge of the subject; as it is very doubtful whether any stone objects exist in America answering to the Palæolithic implements of Europe.* The remark is said to be equally applicable to Scandinavia, and Sir John Lubbock, the originator of the term, is of opinion that Scandinavia was not peopled in the Palæolithic period.†

* "Flint Chips. A guide to Pre-historic Archaeology; by Edward T. Stevens." London, 1870, pp. 220, 222.

† Ibid, p. 204.

If the assumption that America was also then without population should prove to be well founded, we are cut off from the prospect of rendering assistance, or affording additional light, to those discussions which are chief in interest, as tending to show the probable condition of the human race in its infancy, and the extreme antiquity of its origin. We can only come to the aid of the study of the primitive man when he had already made material advances beyond a state of greater apparent helplessness than belongs to most animals. Here again we are destitute of those instructive deposits in lakes and morasses, that in Europe are the intelligible monuments of pre-historic communities. It is noteworthy that our mounds have yielded but few stone implements either in number or variety. The general absence there of such types of spear and arrow heads as appear on the surface of the country, is quite remarkable. No stone pestles are mentioned by Squier and Davis as discovered by them. They did not meet with more than three or four barbed stone arrow heads in all the tumuli which they examined. The ground and polished hatchets, and indeed implements of Neolithic types of all kinds, are represented as rarely associated with the primary interments of the Ohio mounds; yet nobody will think of attributing to the mounds a greater age than that of many of the Swiss Phahlbauten, or Lake dwellings. It is also a little singular that those parts of the United States which most abound in remains of pottery are not remarkable for the quantity of stone implements found there; and the use of stone hatchets is said to have been less general among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, than in some other districts of country.†

† Since the meeting at which this report was read, the able and thorough

In the large work of Mr. Schoolcraft, published at the expense of government, and intended to include every kind of information upon the history and condition of our aborigines, the position occupied by stone implements of industry and warfare is strikingly insignificant when compared with the prominence given to such articles abroad. The case would doubtless have been otherwise if these humble exponents of the arts of primitive population in the old world had begun to attract attention when he wrote. He probably felt, as others did, that they revealed nothing here that was not historically known, and did not by variety of purpose or fashion emblemize tribes, localities, or degrees of culture among the natives. It is only careful comparison that has taught observers to distinguish peculiarities of shape in different countries or sections of country. Mr. Evans, a principal authority on the subject of stone implements, says, in his recent publication, that allowing for local differences in arrow heads, their general correspondence in form is so great as to give rise to the suggestion, that the models were brought from Babel, and followed the dispersion of mankind.*

work of Mr. Charles C. Jones, a member of this society, on the antiquities of the Southern Indians, has been received and perused with much interest. By a careful and judicious, perhaps it might be said *judicial*, study of the subject, in the intervals of professional labor, the author has supplied a want and filled a vacant place in our archaeological literature, and has done it exceedingly well. The title is "Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes. New York, 1873." This work of 532 pages, 8vo., is handsomely printed and largely illustrated, and is of the highest value as a safe and satisfactory guide over the ground it occupies. It is shown by Mr. Jones that the Southern States are not only remarkable for the quantity and quality of the pottery made by the aborigines, but for the number and variety of stone implements found there.

We have been assured by Mr. Horace Davis, of San Francisco, one of our active associates, that California proper is almost destitute of pottery and of such implements of stone as abound in most parts of our country.

* "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," p. 364.

It is by no means certain that remains of the Palæolithic or drift period have not been found in this country. There are claims to such discoveries which, if sustained by more positive evidence, will gain for our antiquaries admittance to that province of investigation. As yet, however, they are not sufficiently numerous, or sufficiently well attested, to afford a reliable basis for speculation.*

* In the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, of 1872, p. 46, is a communication "on pre-historic human art, from Wyoming and Colorado," by E. L. Berthoud, A.M.C.E., taken from a Journal of a Reconnaissance, made along Creek Valley, Colorado, in October and November, 1871. The writer says, "While investigating the formation of the bluffs capped with gravel, we find many beautiful moss agates and numerous flakes and rude stone implements mixed in tertiary gravel and seemingly coeval with it."

"On leaving Crow Creek I obtained a complete suite of stone implements and rude fragments, which occur, mixed in a gravel and sand deposit that composes the summit and sides of the low bluffs, * * while in the low grounds at the foot of the bluffs were ancient fireplaces, burnt fragments of bone and wood, with flint and agate chips and implements, almost universally distinct from those on the summit of the low hills, bordering Crow Creek. So much is this the case, that the two seem to point to a distinct era."

"The evidences of the oldest and rudest art do not even show traces of fire or fireplaces; rough implements, irregular piles of pebbles, are all that is left to show and identify to the observer the obscure seat of a still more obscure barbarism." "The shape, the location, and the rude barbarism of these first attempts of art, irresistibly lead us to compare them to the rude tools of Abbeville in France," &c.

Mr. Jones, ("Antiquities of the Southern Indians," p. 293), refers to implements found in Nacoochee Valley, under circumstances which seemingly assign to them a very remote antiquity. "In material, manner of construction, and in general appearance, so nearly do they resemble some of the rough, so-called flint hatchets belonging to the drift type, as described by M. Boucher de Perthes, that they might readily be mistaken the one for the other."

Dr. Schmidt, of Germany, who came to the United States to study questions relating to American Archaeology and Ethnology, and published the result in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, thinks that Prof. Whitney's Calaveras skull takes us at least beyond the glacier period. He believes that the ice period in America occurred at the same time with that of Europe, and that the primitive inhabitants of California may have lived even before those of the valleys of the Somme and the Neander.

Col. J. W. Foster, who was long the associate of Prof. Whitney in important surveys and explorations for the U. S. Government, in his work just from the press, entitled "Pre-historic Races of the United States of America," has, in Chapter II., collected many of the evidences of the existence of man in this country during the Drift or Palæolithic period.

There are supposed to be proofs of the co-existence of the American man with the mastodon and other extinct animals ; but these are believed to have lingered to a comparatively late era on our continent, as the earlier types of fishes have continued to exist in our lakes. M. Troyon, the Swiss Archæologist, had firm faith that lake dwellings, with their minute exemplifications of ancient life and industry, would yet be found in some of our large inland bodies of water.* It is possible that this may happen ; but in the meantime our proportion of contributions to the common stock of the world's aboriginal relics is less than we are apt to imagine. One of the best American collections, that of Dr. Davis, has gone to enrich the Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury, in England ; but its chief distinction is in the sculptured pipes from the mounds, which are said to be unlike the pipes of any other known race of men, and somewhat peculiar specimens of pottery from the same localities and elsewhere. The small number of flint flakes used as knives, and the absence of hammer stones, stone picks, and even stone gouges, is complained of.

We may remark here that flint flakes for knives are not so common in the United States as in other countries, though some fine ones have been found. This is probably owing to the scarcity of the material. We have no such fine flint as enabled the ancient Scandinavians to produce their really beautiful and effective chisels, long, narrow and true, nearly, as an implement of metal, and to form daggers and spears as

* The writer was at the house of M. Troyon, at Lausanne, a few weeks preceding the sudden death of that zealous antiquary. He was then full of faith that the great lakes in this country, if explored for the purpose, would disclose evidences of ancient habitation similar to those found in Switzerland. He also expected that a Copper Age, to come between the Ages of Stone and Bronze, wanting in Europe, might be shown to have existed here.

graceful as formidable. Yet, notwithstanding the abundance of flint utensils and weapons, in Denmark and Southern Sweden, arrow heads are comparatively rare. In this country, for want of flint, they have usually been made of chert, hornstone, or quartz.* The axes, hatchets, and other tools, of our natives, were made of any hard stone that came to hand. Lafitau, in his work on the manners of savages, says, the North American Indians sometimes spend a whole life in making a stone tomahawk. But though thus finished, often with great labor, and some sense of beauty, the more highly wrought specimens have been far from abundant.

In our cabinet, and in most American cabinets, the large hammers, grooved around the middle for the withe handle, are numerous. These are found in great numbers at the copper mines near Lake Superior, which had long been worked by some ancient race; and it is a coincidence worth mentioning, that precisely similar stone hammers are frequent in the mining districts of most countries, and are still employed occasionally for breaking up ores.†

Axes with a groove at the butt for the handle, of great variety of size and material, are very common with us. They are less common in other countries, and are said to be of rare occurrence in Denmark.‡ Stone axes, perforated for the insertion of the handle, are seldom found in this country except where the material is too soft for service as implements, and they must have been intended for some other

* "Arrow heads of true flint have seldom if ever been found in America." Schoolcraft, *Hist. Condit. and Prosp. of the Indians in the U. S.*, I. pp. 77-8.

"They are usually made of chert, hornstone, or quartz." *Flint Chips*, p. 505.

In Central and Southern Germany flint arrow heads are said to be scarce. Evans, in "*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*," p. 360.

† Evans, in "*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*," pp. 208-210.

‡ Evans, p. 151.

purpose—that of ornament, perhaps, or insignia of rank. In England, and on the continent, they are frequently made of hard and durable substances, but are assigned to the later stone periods, when metal tools were in use. In Central America, where the art of drilling stone was practised skilfully, perforated axes are said to be wanting. The perforated hammer stones, found in Iceland and England, are rare in Scandinavia, Germany and Switzerland.

The wedge-shaped axes and hatchets, without groove or perforation, of all sizes and substances, are largely represented in our cabinet; often beautifully ground and polished. The *chipped* hatchets are scarce, perhaps because stones having the right kind of fracture were seldom met with.

All stone implements of a simple wedge-like form are usually called hatchets abroad, however they may have been used, with handles or without, as adzes or otherwise, the term *axe* being applied exclusively to grooved or pierced implements prepared for handles.

Chisels are numerous with us, and are distinguishable from the hatchets by greater length in proportion to the width. Though some of them are of stones capable of yielding a keen and firm edge, they cannot compare with the beautiful flint chisels of Denmark and some other parts of Europe.

Gouges, or fluted chisels, used for excavating canoes and similar purposes, are also very abundant. These are common on the continent of Europe, but are rarely found in Great Britain.*

Pestles and mortars are characteristic of the method of preparing food in this country. No true quern, consisting

* Evans, p. 159.

of two stones made to revolve against each other, appears at any time to have been in use among the aborigines of America. Cylinders or rollers, supposed to be employed in rolling out hoe cakes and tortillas, are sometimes incorrectly termed *pestles*, but had a different purpose.

Some of the American tools, like the small hand scrapers used in the preparation of skins, are paralleled by similar implements found in Greece. They are also common in France, but not in England.

There are small tools, five or six inches long, and very narrow, the use of which is somewhat doubtful, though they are called picks by Mr. Evans, that are common in England, but do not constitute a class in this country. Of these we have some specimens.

There is a curved flint knife, elaborately finished, with the cutting edge on the concave side, found in England, and probably belonging to the latest stone period, which I believe has no counterpart in the United States.

Large flat stones, partially worked, supposed by some to be incomplete spear heads, are in all our cabinets. They are thought by Mr. Rau, who has studied the various methods of manufacturing implements of stone, to have been employed in agriculture as spades or shovels.*

Arrow heads and spear heads of every conceivable design are in great plenty with us. Leaf-shaped, triangular, with and without barbs, with and without tangs, or short hilts, pointed and blunt, smooth edged and serrated, intended to be firmly attached to the shaft, or to be left in the wound they have caused.† The making of arrow heads and spear

* Smithsonian Reports of 1868, pp. 401-2.

† The leaf-shaped and triangular arrow heads were used in hunting, and

heads was a craft among our savages for which certain persons skilled in the art were set apart, hence these productions were not only abundant but often ingeniously varied in style and finish.

Still there are features which among European archæologists are considered as characteristic of American arrow heads. One of these is a greater expansion at the base than is observed elsewhere. A type mentioned by Mr. Evans as prevailing in North America is that with notches on each side, near the base, for attachment to the shaft—sometimes without barbs, and sometimes shading off into the form with well developed barbs or a central dove-tailed tang. There is a variety of arrow heads in England having a single barb which occasions a one-sided look. These have not been observed as a class in other countries; though some of the iron arrows of South American tribes are single-barbed.

Our cabinet is deficient in specimens of pottery, though they are plentiful in the country, and are becoming more so as the modern graves of the western Indians are opened in the course of cultivation or other disturbances of the soil. No trace of the use of the wheel in making pottery has yet been observed here. The manufacture, however, was known throughout the South, and to the most northern parts of New England, excepting in the high regions of the Rocky Mountains, and between the sources of the Missouri and the northern branch of the Columbia rivers. The Shoshones, or Snake Indians, have not made pottery.

None of the mound pottery was glazed, but a kind of

where firmly attached to the shaft. The barbed arrow heads were for war, and were meant to be left in the body of an enemy, being slightly fastened to the arrow. Major Long's "Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," p. 291.

polish was given to vessels of clay among the later Indians by means of a gum or varnish.

Pipes are the specialty of America. They were the pride as well as the solace of the savage, and were chosen emblems in religious and political ceremonies. The highest efforts of skill and labor in ornament were bestowed upon them. The richest in sculpture have come from the mounds; but nearly as elaborate and ingenious carving is found among the productions of later and even living tribes. We are wanting in the finer specimens, though we possess many varieties.

Deer's horn, as a material for implements, or the handles of implements, has rarely been found among the remains of aboriginal art in the United States, although so largely employed in Europe during the Neolithic period, especially in Switzerland.

We have a fine specimen of the mysterious stone tubes, described by Squier & Davis and others as found in the mounds. Ours was dug from the ground, four feet beneath the general surface, on "the South Ridge," about thirty miles from Lake Erie. It is 14 inches long, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The substance is, apparently, a variety of gray slate, which is easily cut with a knife, and has been carefully rounded and polished. The bore diminishes gradually from one end to the other, and at the smaller aperture is not quite central. These tubes vary in form and size, and many imaginative conjectures have been indulged in respecting their use. It has been suggested that they were musical instruments, telescopic devices for astronomical observations, medicine or cupping tubes. Mr. Jones has collected the historical references to a practise among the Indian medicine men, in which the seat of disease or injury

was sucked through a tube, or blown upon through the same instrument, which is described as made of a hard black stone. (*Antiquities of Southern Indians*, pp. 360-365.)

Our implements of copper are limited to knives, armlets, and hooks for taking fish. We have a remarkable specimen of a sinker, or ornament of that shape, composed of native copper mixed with silver. Stone articles of the last named form, and those termed gorgets, and supposed to be worn on the person, are quite numerous.*

It has been recently asserted that the Boomerang, hitherto supposed to be the peculiar weapon of the Australians, is in use among the Moqui Indians of Northern Arizona and New Mexico. The question has been brought before the California Academy of Sciences, where it will, doubtless, be thoroughly investigated.

Enough has probably been said on these subjects for the present purpose, which is simply, in a general way, to refer to the relation which relics of the American Stone Age bear to those of the same age in other countries, to point out some of the wants in our cabinet, and to ask the interest and assistance of members of the society in forming such a

*The small pear-shaped stone weights, or pendants, resembling the plumb-bobs of carpenters, are by some thought to be *sinkers*, used in fishing with nets and lines. Others regard them as ornaments to be suspended from the person. The gorgets are simply flat stones a few inches in length and breadth, generally shaped and polished with care, and having two or more small holes through them. They have been supposed to be worn as ornaments.

Col. Foster revives an early theory that the holes were for gauges in drawing cords or threads for strings, or weaving. He thinks that the weights or pendants above described, were employed to keep the threads taut in the process of weaving; as they are too delicate and valuable for fishing purposes, where an ordinary pebble would serve as well. "*Pre-historic Races of the U. S.*," pp. 229, 230.

Chapter XVII of Mr. Jones's "*Antiquities of the Southern Indians*" is quite instructive on the subjects of Pierced Tablets, Pendants, Slung Stones, Amulets, &c.

collection of these memorials of the pre-historic man as in this period of excited and anxious inquiry into the physical and mental antecedents of existing races shall be creditable to ourselves and to our country. At another time the description of articles in our possession and a process of comparison between American stone implements and those of other nations may be extended farther, and carried more into details, than has been practicable here.

S. F. HAVEN,

Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

- HON. ISAAC DAVIS, Worcester. — Twelve books ; and sixty-four pamphlets.
- REV. W. STEVENS PERRY, D.D., Geneva, N. Y. — Three books ; and one hundred and forty pamphlets, chiefly relating to the work of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.
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- T. S. KIRKBRIDE, M.D., Philadelphia, Pa. — His report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, for the year 1872.
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- Rev. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Cherry Valley. — His "Caldwell Records, Proof Sheet No. One."
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- ENOCH CHASE, M.D., Milwaukee, Wis. — His Address to the Old Settlers' Club, July 4, 1872.
- HON. HILAND HALL, Bennington, Vt. — His Address before the New York Historical Society, Dec. 4, 1869.
- MR. JAMES B. PERRY, Baltimore, Md. — A New York Newspaper of early date.
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- REV. S. C. DAMON, D.D., Honolulu, S. I. — His Thanksgiving Discourse, Nov. 28, 1872.
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- THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.** — Catalogue of Books added to the Library of Congress during the year 1871; and the Annual Report for the Year 1872.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.** — Their Transactions for 1872; and Schedule of Prizes for 1873.
- THE IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** — Their "Annals of Iowa," for July and October, 1872, and January, 1873.
- THE MANCHESTER, ENGL., PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY.** — Their Twentieth Annual Report; and Index Catalogues.
- THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.** — Their Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, January 1, 1873; and The Genealogical Register as issued.

- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, Vol. 12, No. 89.
- THE PENNSYLVANIA BOARD OF PUBLIC CHARITIES. — Their Third Annual Report.
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- THE U. S. CHIEF OF ENGINEERS. — His Report for 1872.
- OBERLIN COLLEGE. — Catalogue of Officers and Students for the year 1872-73.
- THE WORCESTER FREE INSTITUTE. — Their third Annual Catalogue.
- THE PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. — Their Thirty-Seventh Annual Report.
- YALE COLLEGE. — Catalogue of the Linonian and Brother's Library; and a Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 1872-73.
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HARVARD COLLEGE. — The Annual Reports for 1871-72.

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Report for the year 1872 ; and one historical pamphlet.

THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, Vol. 6 ;
and Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts
and Letters.

THE HINGHAM AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. —
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Bulletin for 1871.

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THE WORCESTER FREE LIBRARY. — Fifty files of newspapers ; one
book ; and nine hundred and ninety pamphlets, chiefly cata-
logues of books.

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Twenty files of newspapers ; and one hundred and nine pam-
phlets.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their paper as
issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY
GAZETTE. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM. — Their paper
as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their
paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY. — Their
paper as issued.

Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report for the six months ending April 28th, 1873.

<i>The Librarian's and General Fund</i> , Oct. 18, 1872, was		\$28,958.99
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since,	1,317.41	
“ from Miss Nancy Lincoln,	300.00	
“ “ Estate of J. P. Bigelow,	1,000.00	
		<hr/>
		\$31,576.40
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . .	1,072.71	
		<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,		\$30,503.69
<i>The Collection and Research Fund</i> , October 18, 1872,		
was	\$14,157.08	
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, .	757.22	
		<hr/>
		\$14,914.30
Paid for books and incidentals, and part of Librarian's salary,	212.54	
		<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,		14,701.76
<i>The Bookbinding Fund</i> , October 18, 1872, was . . .		\$10,167.84
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . .	565.35	
		<hr/>
		\$10,733.19
Paid for binding and part of Asst. Librarian's salary,	612.18	
		<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,		10,121.01
<i>The Publishing Fund</i> , October 18, 1872, was . . .		\$10,123.77
Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . .	566.80	
		<hr/>
		\$10,690.57
Paid for printing, expenses incurred for publishing, &c.,	694.97	
		<hr/>
Present amount of this Fund,		9,995.60
Amount carried forward,		<hr/>
		\$65,322.06

Amount brought forward	\$65,322.06
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , October 18, 1872, was \$10,606.23	
Received for interest since,	311.70
Present amount of this Fund,	10,917.93
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , October 18, 1872, was	\$679.12
Received for interest since,	18.53
Present amount of this Fund,	697.65
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , October 18, 1872, was	1,152.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
Present amount of this Fund,	1,182.20
Total of the seven Funds,	\$78,119.84
Cash on hand, included in forgoing statement,	819.84

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,400.00
Railroad Stock,	5,400.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,200.00
City Bonds,	1,500.00
Cash,	3.69
	30,503.69

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,400.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00
Cash,	201.76
	14,701.76

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,900.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
U. S. Bonds,	100.00
Cash,	121.01
	10,121.01

Amount carried forward, \$55,326.46

Amount brought forward,	\$55,326.46	
<i>The Publishing Fund is invested in—</i>		
Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	8,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	95.60	
	<hr/>	9,995.60
<i>The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—</i>		
Railroad Stock,	\$600.00	
Railroad Bonds,	1,700.00	
City Bonds,	7,500.00	
Cash,	117.93	
	<hr/>	10,917.93
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—</i>		
City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	97.65	
	<hr/>	697.65
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—</i>		
City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Cash,	182.20	
	<hr/>	1,182.20
Total of the seven Funds,	<hr/>	\$78,119.84
		<hr/>

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

WORCESTER, April 28, 1873.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the Investments and find them as stated; and they are safely and judiciously made.

ISAAC DAVIS, }
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, April 28, 1873.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

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AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1873.



WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY CHARLES HAMILTON,
FALLADIAN OFFICE.
1874.

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1873, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY, IN WORCESTER.

THE President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL. D., read the report of the Council.

S. F. HAVEN, Esq., Librarian, and NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, read their annual reports.

All the above were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication, to be printed at their discretion.

In answer to a question by Dr. S. A. GREEN, on the subject of Eliot's Bible, Mr. TRUMBULL said that he supposed Eliot used the Geneva Bible as the basis of his translation. Eliot was familiar with the Hebrew and Greek languages, and it is to be presumed made more or less use of the original versions.

In answer to inquiry with reference to his dictionary of the words used in Eliot's Bible, Mr. TRUMBULL stated that it is substantially completed. The President of the Society expressed the hope that it would not long be suffered to

remain in manuscript form. Mr. TRUMBULL was also asked whether in his opinion the modern Indians, whose ancestors used the language in which it is written, can read Eliot's Bible; to which he replied that the difference in the dialect as used now and then, is comparatively trifling, and any difficulty arising from it could, with a little diligence, be readily overcome.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE gave some account of the early maps of the Atlantic and of America, which he had seen in the Royal Library at Munich, last June. His notes will be found at the close of the report of the Council.

Before reading them, Mr. HALE said that he might claim to have been "in at the death" of the fabulous Island of Brazil, said to have been discovered by Cabot on his first voyage. As he had had something to say regarding this island before the Society some years since, he could not but mention the fact that it was at last off the charts. In crossing to England in the steamer *Siberia*, in April, Mr. HALE observed the spot marked "Brazil," on the Admiralty chart used by the ship, and called the attention of Capt. Harrison to it. "Yes," said that distinguished officer, "you see our ships have sailed over the place hundreds of times, but it is very hard to get an error off the chart when it has once got on."

This island of Brazil is represented as large as Ireland on some of the early charts, about one-third across the Atlantic to the west of Ireland. It grows smaller and smaller, from century to century, till on the charts of this generation it appears only as a point with the legend "I. Brazil."

On returning to America, in July, in the steamship *Calabria*, Mr. HALE called the attention of the captain to this

long continued error,—and he also spoke of the difficulty of getting an error off the chart. He unrolled his chart to point out the “I Brazil” to a bystander, and it was not there! The chart was a recent issue, and the false rock had been at last withdrawn.

After Mr. HALE had read that part of his notes which relate to Sir Robert Dudley’s *Arcano del Mare*, Hon. Mr. HOAR said that a part of that curious book was to be found in the Worcester Public Library. It is one volume of the second edition, which was found in sheets at a Worcester importing house (Mr. Grout’s), purchased and bound for the Library. It fortunately contains one of the curious maps of the California Coast which has reference to Drake’s harbor on that shore.

Mr. HALE continued. The set of the *Arcano del Mare* in Harvard College Library, is complete and is of the first edition, which is now very rare.

It is impossible not to notice the curious *bottle-shape* of the bays represented about the neighborhood of Sir Francis Drake’s bay and the bay of San Francisco. It is to be observed that there are two nearly similar very near each other. On the supposition (which Mr. HALE threw out) that Thomas Cavendish, who was Dudley’s father-in-law, furnished the original material for this map,—it is quite possible that he had heard of the Golden Gate, and the open bay within. Mr. Doyle’s and Mr. Washburn’s papers leave no doubt that the Spaniards had no knowledge of this remarkable estuary, before the discovery of 1769.

Mr. HAVEN inquired whether there was not some connection between Robert Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, spoken of in Mr. HALE’s paper, and Sir Thomas Smith,

Governor of the Virginia Company, alluding further to the relationships which existed among the persons engaged in the early expeditions to this country. Mr. HALE replied that he thought there was.

Hon. PETER C. BACON thought that the cold experienced by some of the early voyagers on the coast of California and Oregon must have been in exceptional years, for modern residents of Oregon find a mild climate, and roses blooming in every month of the year. He also spoke of the discovery in England of a letter written by Gov. Winthrop soon after his arrival in this country, which contains probably the first written allusion to the neighboring mountains, Wachusett and Monadnock.

Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH read a paper relating to the connections by marriage of Christopher Columbus, which is printed with the proceedings of this meeting.

Mr. WASHBURN, after some allusion to Mr. HALE's paper and the *Arcano del Mare*, said :

In the report of the Council, read at the semi-annual meeting in Boston, in 1872, the question of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco was incidentally discussed. The theory, now generally abandoned, that Sir F. Drake saw it, was after statement of the arguments on the one side and the other rejected, as well as that suggested by some writers that this honor might be awarded to Cabrillo or Ferrel. The opinion, which had been adopted by some extremely reputable authorities, conspicuously Greenhow, that Viscaïno entered the bay, was confuted at considerable length, and the argument from internal evidence was held, even if unsupported by any other, to be conclusive that that opinion is erroneous. The conclusion reached in the report was

that the first well authenticated discovery of the bay was made by a party of Franciscan missionaries.

It will be gratifying to the Society, as it was to the author of that report, to know that it has excited some interest among the members of the Historical Society of California, one of whom, Mr. John T. Doyle, an eminent lawyer of San Francisco, has written a memorandum on the subject, in vindication of the general views and conclusions of the report. This memorandum, as will be seen, is based on the Journal of Father Crespi, which is contained in Father Palou's Notices of Upper California, a most interesting and valuable work, which is now being re-printed by the California Historical Society, under the supervision of Mr. Doyle. The existence of this work was known to the author of the report, but it was not cited, as it was not found convenient to obtain a copy by which the citation could be verified. It is spoken of however in Taylor's "Bibliografia Californica," a valuable index to the existing literature on the subject of the early history of that country, though the notice there contained does not allude to the journal of Father Crespi.*

*Our library is now possessed of a nearly complete set of "The Indianology of California," (wanting only No. 49), by Mr. ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR, of Santa Barbara, one of our associates. The work is unique, and was published at San Francisco, in consecutive issues of the "California Farmer," from 1860 to 1863, arranged in four series of 150 separate numbers, and only six complete sets were saved. It is an extensive historical and ethnological collection of matters relating to the Indian tribes of the two Californias and of Alaska. The notations commence with the discoveries of Cabrillo, in 1540, and extend to later information, from the Indian Bureau and other sources, to 1863.

Mr. TAYLOR wrote in May, 1873, that he had re-constructed and re-arranged this curious work in 50 numbers, transposing and condensing the matter and adding valuable notes, to December, 1872.

Mr. TAYLOR says, in a recent communication, "From much study of this subject, I am convinced that the old Indian civilization of North America took its rise among the progenitors of the Zuni, and other Pueblo Indian tribes of New Mexico, who were Toltecas, or predecessors of the Aztecs, and afterwards

The arrival of the copy of the re-publication for which this Society has subscribed will be awaited with no little interest by those members with whom the subject of the history of the Pacific coast has become a favorite one.

Mr. WASHBURN then read Mr. Doyle's paper, prefacing it with some introductory observations of his own, which will be found in the proceedings.

The President of the Society, in announcing the gift by our associate, Judge ENDICOTT, of a portrait of his ancestor, read a memorial of Gov. Endicott, which he had prepared, and which is printed with the proceedings of this meeting.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the warmest thanks of the Society are presented to our associate, Hon. WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, one of the Judges

spread themselves not only up and down the Mississippi Valley but over both sides of the Sierra Madre to the South, even as far as the Isthmus of Panama; their great strongholds were the great valleys of Mexico, Oaxaca, Michoacan, Yucatan, Tobasco, Colima, Guatemala and Salvador. From New Mexico to Panama, the Metates or stone table corn-grinders, the flint-edged swords or Macacas, jasper and quartz knives and arrow heads, stone mortars, pottery, cotton clothing, shell money, etc., etc., all assimilate; and their great storied platform buildings and ruins all seem to have been constructed after the models of the present Pueblo Indian castellated towns of Tacos, Zuni, Jemes, etc. The household utensils and those of war, found in the Huacals or old cemeteries of Chiriqui of Panama, are the same or nearly so, as those of Mexico City, or of the New Mexico towns. The old Spanish Explorers and Missionaries from Arizona to Panama, from 1550 to 1750, all coincide remarkably; except that, south of Mexico City parallel, to that of Guatemala City, great constructions were made of regular stone architecture, the Arizona and New Mexico ones being of adobe. It ought to be remembered that there are still *ten millions of Indians* from the Isthmus of Panama to the Arctic Sea, and in many parts of South Mexico and Central America they are little changed since the Spanish conquests of 1540 to 1600."

Mr. T. adds, "In my '*Bibliografa Californica*,' which I have re-arranged and greatly added to up to December, 1872, (as much as one-half to the contents of the newspaper issues in the '*Sacramento Union*' of 1863 and 1866) I have made very valuable additions to the works relating to the two Californias and to the Indian tribes, language and history, of Mexico and Central America—great numbers written before the year 1800. I hope one of these days to see the Indian work and the Bibliography volume in some publisher's hands."

of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, for his most desirable gift of an accurate copy of a beautiful portrait, preserved by his family, of his great and good ancestor, John Endicott, the first Governor in Massachusetts Bay.

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution shall be presented to Judge ENDICOTT by the Recording Secretary.

Rev. R. C. WATERSTON exhibited some interesting photographs of Indians, accompanying them with brief explanations. Mr. WATERSTON would have made further remarks, in reference to some books he had brought for the purpose of presentation to the Society, but was prevented from doing so by the lateness of the hour.

Dr. HENRY WHEATLAND and Dr. GEORGE CHANDLER were appointed a committee to receive the ballots for President, and they reported that the Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY was unanimously chosen.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Rev. Dr. PEABODY, and Col. DAVIS were appointed a committee to retire and report a list of the remaining officers, to be balloted for by the Society. They made the following report, and the gentlemen named were unanimously chosen by ballot.

Vice Presidents:

Hon. BENJ. F. THOMAS, LL.D., of Boston.

JAMES LENOX, Esq., of New York.

Council:

Hon. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D., of Boston.

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.

JOSEPH SARGENT, M.D., of Worcester.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., of Worcester.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, LL.D., of Charlestown.

HON. HENRY CHAPIN, LL.D., of Worcester.

HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, LL.D., of Boston.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Recording Secretary.

Col. JOHN D. WASHBURN, of Worcester.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication :

SAMUEL F. HAVEN, Esq., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, of Boston.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D., of Cambridge.

Auditors :

HON. ISAAC DAVIS, LL.D., of Worcester.

HON. EBENEZER TORREY, of Fitchburg.

Mr. WASHBURN reported from the Council the names of the following gentlemen for membership :

Hon. THOMAS H. WYNNE, of Virginia.

Capt. GEORGE H. PREBLE, U. S. N.

Dr. F. V. HAYDEN, of Washington.

And they were, by ballot, unanimously elected.

Mr. HALE briefly alluded to the memorial to Capt. John Smith, which it has been proposed that this Society should erect in the church of St. Sepulchre, in London.

On motion of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the chair with authority to have the inscription recut, and to erect the memorial, not however to act till they shall have secured the requisite funds, and the Council shall have approved the plan.

The chair appointed as the committee, Messrs. HOAR, HAVEN and HALE.

The meeting then dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

IN compliance with the By-Laws, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society respectfully present their semi-annual Report.

The Reports of the Librarian and Treasurer, presently to be submitted, show that the Society comes to its sixty-first anniversary with its affairs in prosperous condition, and that, during the last six months, its resources have been gradually enlarged, by valuable additions to its library and cabinet, as well as by increase of the aggregate of its several funds; that its members have not been inactive, or forgetful of their relations to the Society; and that friends on whose co-operation it has a less direct claim have continued to be generous in contributing to its collections.

The Librarian reports accessions, by donation, exchange, and purchase, of 715 books, 2346 pamphlets, 130 volumes of newspapers, more than 200 photographs, maps, and lithographs, and a number of Indian implements. In the list of donations are found works, printed or in manuscript, by eleven members of the Society. A fine copy of the original portrait of Governor John Endicott has been presented to the Library by one of his descendants.

The Treasurer's Report shows that the funds of the Society now amount to \$78,721.06, an increase of \$2,875.83 since the last annual meeting.

To these reports, which have been adopted as a part of the Report of the Council, reference is made for the details of the Society's progress.

In the Report of the Council, presented by Mr. Paine, at the semi-annual meeting in April, brief mention was made of Eliot's Indian Bible—copies of which, in both editions, are in our library—and the titles of several tracts in the same language were given. These books have other and higher value than that which mere rarity imparts to them in the estimation of collectors. They are precious memorials of the zeal and devotion of Eliot and his successors in labors for the welfare of the Indians of New England. But to students of language they have special value, as text-books in a well-defined dialect of that great Algonkin language which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was spoken over an extent of territory half as large as Europe; and these texts are the more trustworthy because they were written before the speech of the natives of New England was essentially modified by intercourse with foreigners.

A complete and accurate descriptive catalogue of books printed in New England for the use of the Indians, is still a desideratum in American bibliography. The want of it has been no slight hindrance to the compilation and revision of Dr. Haven's catalogue of American books printed before 1775, which is so largely to enhance the value of the Society's new edition of Thomas's History of Printing.

It has been suggested that something may be done towards supplying this deficiency, by presenting with this report such a list as can now be made of works printed in the Indian language, at Cambridge and Boston, before 1775. That this

list will prove to be absolutely complete, or accurate in every detail, is not to be expected. All of these little books are rare; some are of extreme rarity, only one or two copies being known. Of a few early printed tracts, it has not been easy to obtain even abbreviated titles, or descriptions sufficiently exact for identification.

To a catalogue of books prepared for the use of the Indians, some notice of the origin and early progress of Indian missions in New England may not inappropriately serve as an introduction.

The Charter of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England declares that to "wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankinde, and the Christian faythe," was, in the "royall intention and the adventurers free profession, *the principall ende of this plantation.*" Before the charter had passed the seals, the Governor of the company wrote to Endicott in New England: "We trust you will not be unmindfull of the mayne end of our plantation, by indevoringe to bring y^e Indians to the knowledge of the gospell;" and the company's first general letter of instructions reminds him, again, that "the propagating of the Gosple is the thing [wee] doe profess above all to bee o^r ayme in setting this plantation." The oath administered to the Governor and Deputy Governor bound them to "do [their] best endeavo^r to draw on the natives of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the true God." And that these pledges might be had in perpetual remembrance, on the seal provided in England for the colony, an Indian with extended hands, raised the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." Thus

the conversion of the natives was not only the chief work which the undertakers for the settlement of Massachusetts proposed to accomplish, but its prosecution was made, as it were, a condition-precedent of their charter. And this was equally true of the earlier grant to the Council of Plymouth in 1620, (the great patent of New England,) in which the king declares that "the principall effect which [he] can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts, unto the true worship of God and Christian religion." "The mutuall and interchangeable pact and covenant of donor and receiver is, in all those charters and patents, *the conversion of the heathen*" — wrote Thomas Thorowgood, in 1650.* So Edward Winslow and the Plymouth colonists understood it. In the "Brief Relation" printed in 1622, he declares, that "for the conversion [of the natives] we intend to be as careful as of our own happiness; and as diligent to provide them tutors for their breeding and bringing up of their children of both sexes, as to advance any other business whatsoever, for that we acknowledge ourselves specially bound thereunto."

"To endeavor, so far as in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise that New England people had made unto their King when he granted them their patent," was one and "not the least" of the motives which impelled John Eliot to devote himself to the work of Christianizing the Indians of Massachusetts.† "That publick ingagement"—he wrote to a friend in England in 1659—"together with pity to the poor Indians, and desire

*Jewes in America, p. 91.

†Gookin, Hist. Collections, &c., 170.

to make the name of Christ chief in these dark ends of the earth—and not the rewards of men—were the very first and chief movers, if I know what did first and chiefly move in my heart, when God was pleased to put upon me that work of preaching to them.”*

Reasons enough may be found why so little was done by the colonists of Massachusetts, before Eliot entered on his work, to discharge the obligation incurred by acceptance of the charter. “Though some men have spoken mean things of them”—to quote Thorowgood again†—“in reference to their labours in that way, as if they had been negligent therein, such men consider not, I fear, how long their countrymen have been wrastling with divers difficulties, and busily employing their minds and time in providing outward accommodations for themselves in a strange land.” Self-preservation was plainly the first duty. Ignorance of the Indian language seemed for a time an insuperable bar to mission work. Moreover, an idea generally prevailed, that Indians must be taught English, before they could receive religious truths. Mr. Dunster “wanted not opposition” (Lechford tells us,) because he maintained the novel proposition “that the way to instruct the Indians must be *in their own language*, not English.”‡ Then again it was argued that civilization must precede Christianity, or (as a writer of the time expressed it,) that “such as are so extremely degenerate must by brought to some *civility* before religion can prosper or the Word take place.”§ Whatever anticipations of an eager acceptance of the Gospel by the natives may have been entertained by the

*Jewes in America, Pt. 2, (1660), p. 18.

†Jewes in America, Pt. 2. ‡Plaine Dealing, 53. §The Day Breaking, &c., 20.

colonists before coming to New England, were dispelled by nearer acquaintance with Indian life and character. For beads and strong-water, trucking cloth and fire-arms, the red man's receptivity was ample. To the new religion he manifested indifference if not aversion. When envoys from the Narragansetts or the Connecticut tribes besought the colonists of the Bay to "come over and help" them against their rivals, the help they asked was not the sword of the spirit. "Wee are upbraided by some of our countrymen," said one of the ministers of Massachusetts, in 1646, "that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of natives; such men have surely more spleen than judgment, and know not the vast distance of natives from common civility, almost humanity itself."* The church, it was urged, must wait for "miraculous and extraordinary gifts," before attempting to civilize or convert beings so degraded; and the last encouragement to effort seemed to be taken away when Mr. Cotton showed from the Apocalypse that the conversion of any heathen nation must not be expected until after the coming in of the Jews.† Roger Williams accepted this interpretation,‡ and so, probably, did Eliot. Dr. Twiss (afterwards President of the Westminster Assembly) wrote in 1634 to Dr. Joseph Mede: "We have heard lately, divers ways, that our people there have no hope of the conversion of the natives." In 1641, Thomas Lechford expressed his "doubt [that] there hath been and is much neglect of endeavors, to teach,

* The Day Breaking 19.

† Winthrop, ii. 30; Lechford, 21; The Day Breaking, (1647.) 19, 20.

‡ Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, p. 13. At a later period, Increase Mather maintained this position, in his *Discourse concerning the Salvation of the Tribes of Israel*.

civilize and convert the Indian nations that are about the plantations;”* and a few years later, Robert Baylie, the presbyterian, declared that the Independents of New England were, “of all that ever crossed the American seas, the most neglectful of the work of conversion.”†

To the general indifference — or what seemed to be such — there were some noteworthy exceptions. First (in order of time at least) the labors of Roger Williams are to be had in remembrance. While he was living at Plymouth and Salem, it was his “soul’s desire to the natives good,” and “God was pleased to give him a painful, patient spirit, to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, to gain their tongue.”‡ The author of “New England’s Prospect,” who returned to England in 1633, mentions “one of the English preachers,” who, “in a speciall good intent of doing good to their [the Indians’] soules, hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he is so good a proficient that he can speake to their understanding, and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsell;” and before Williams’s settlement at Providence in 1636, he had acquired such a proficiency in the language that he “could debate with them in a great measure in their own tongue.” His *Key into the Language of America* was printed in London, in 1643. When the author returned to New England in 1644, he brought with him the special commendation of “his printed Indian labours”, by prominent members of the Parliament; and moreover, he brought for the colony he had founded, a much desired charter—

*Plain Dealing, 57.

†A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, (London, 1645,) p. 60.

‡Knowles’ Memoir of R. Williams, 52, 109.

which these Indian labors may have had no small influence in obtaining.

The interest manifested by Henry Dunster, president of the college at Cambridge, in the instruction of the Indians, has already been alluded to. "He hath the platforme and way of conversion of the Natives' indifferent right"—concedes the querulous Lechford—"and much studies the same. . . . He will make it good, that the way to instruct the Indians, must be in their owne language, not English; and that their language may be perfected."*

The younger Mayhew and his work on Martha's Vineyard, deserve more ample notice than may be given here. In 1643—the year in which Williams printed his *Key*—Thomas Mayhew had the satisfaction of seeing the first fruit of his labors, in the conversion of Hiacoomes; and before the end of 1650, a hundred Indians of the Vineyard had embraced Christianity. In 1646, Mayhew attained such mastery of the language as to preach to the Indians without the help of an interpreter.

Two years before the publication of Williams's *Key*, William Castell, a minister in Northamptonshire, addressed a petition to the Parliament, setting forth "the great and generall neglect of this Kingdome, in not propagating the glorious Gospel in America." Alleging that the English plantations in New England and Virginia had, "as yet, been to small purpose for the converting of the Indian nations," and that there was "little or no hope these plantations should be of any long continuance," he urged the establishment of a strong colony, south of Virginia, to which emi-

* Plain Dealing, 53.

grants might go, assured of the protection of Parliament, and "with a generall consent in God's cause, for the promoting of the Gospel and inlarging of his Church." Mr. Castell's proposition was approved, and commended to the consideration of Parliament, by seventy-six ministers, representing the church of England, non-conformists, and presbyterians.* The same year (1641) Hugh Peter and Thomas Welde (Mr. Eliot's colleague in the church of Roxbury) were sent to England, by the General Court of Massachusetts, "upon some weighty occasions for the good of the country."† The chief object of their mission seems to have been "to procure men or money, or both, for the colony, which was then sorely straitened;‡ but they were instructed not "to seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging, or the like." It appears that one part of their business was to collect funds for the preaching of the gospel to the natives, but Dr. Palfrey (after examination of Welde's manuscripts relating to this matter) infers "that the business of evangelizing the Indians was not prominent among Welde's objects, and still less among those of Peter."§

* This petition is reprinted in Force's Tracts, Vol. I. About this time was published "Certain Inducements to well-minded People, . . . to transport Themselves . . . into the *West Indies*, for the propagating of the Gospel and increase of Trade." The first inducement presented by the writer of this tract is, that "there seems to bee a great Gate opened to the Gospel's entrance upon the Indians." † Mass. Records, i. 332.

‡ Endicott's Letter to J. Winthrop, in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 139: comp. Winthrop, ii. 25, 26, 31.

§ Hist. of N. E., i. 584. After the collections for propagating the gospel among the Indians were entrusted to the Commissioners of the United Colonies—instead of being directly transmitted to Massachusetts—Peter no longer made even a profession of interest in the work. "He hath been a very bad instrument, all along, towards it," wrote the president of the Corporation in England, in 1654—"who (though of a committee in the army for the advance of it amongst them) yet protested against contributing a penny towards it in his person," and "told Mr. Winslow, in plain terms, he heard the work was but a play and cheat, and that there was no such thing as gospel conversion amongst the Indians." (Records of the U. Colonies, 1654.)

Arriving in England when Castell's project of building up a christianizing colony in America was inviting the attention of good men in and out of parliament, it may have occurred to the agents of Massachusetts that the newly awakened interest for the conversion of the Indians might be made instrumental in promoting "the good of the country," attracting emigration, securing the favor of the Parliament, and improving the finances of the colony. In 1643—a few months before the appearance of Williams's Indian "Key"—was published the tract entitled "New England's First Fruits, in respect, First, of the conversion of some—conviction of divers—preparation of sundry—of the Indians," and soliciting "means to sustain some fit instruments for their instruction." The next year (Nov., 1644), the general court first manifested, by formal action, an interest in the spiritual welfare of the natives, by ordering the county courts "to take care that the Indians residing in the several shires shall be civilized," and providing that order might be taken "to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." But it was not till November, 1646, that the general court, "considering that one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians," adopted a plan of systematic missionary effort to that end. It was ordered that two ministers should be chosen annually, by the elders of the churches, "to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians, in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter."

There were two ministers who had not waited for the action of the court or election by the elders. John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew could already address the Indians in their own language.

Mr. Eliot came to New England in November, 1631. He was then about twenty-seven years of age; a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1623. After leaving the university, he had been engaged in teaching, and was for some time the assistant of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, in a school near Chelmsford, Essex. Mather informs us that "he was a most acute grammarian, and understood very well the languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in," with "a good insight into all the other liberal arts," and "a most eminent skill in theology." In November, 1632, he was ordained teacher of the Roxbury church, and he retained that office more than fifty-seven years, till his death, in 1690. In estimating the work which he accomplished, the discharge of his pastoral duties must not be overlooked. For nine years (1641-1650), and again, late in life, for fourteen years (1674-1688), he was without a colleague, sole minister of a large parish. "The weight of the work incumbent upon him in that one church was," as Gookin thought, "sufficient to take up the time and strength of one man." His zeal for the conversion of the heathen did not make him neglectful of his duties to his own church and people; and "he liked no preaching (says Mather) but what had been well *studied for*."

It is not possible to fix the time at which he began to learn the Indian language, and of his method of study we know only what he has told us in the brief postscript to "The Indian Grammar begun." He "found out a pregnant-witted young man who had been a servant in an English house" — we learn elsewhere,* that this was a Long Island Indian, taken prisoner in the Pequot war of 1637, and put

* *Glorious Progresses, &c.* p. 19.

to service with a Dorchester planter,—“who pretty well understood [our language, better than he could speak it, and well understood]* his own language, and had a clear pronunciation.” With his help, Eliot translated “the commandments, the Lord’s prayer, and many texts of scripture,” and “compiled both exhortations and prayers.”

Under what disadvantages his studies were prosecuted may be imagined. His teachers must themselves first be taught. That the Indian language was unwritten was not the chief hindrance to a learner. Its general structure, all its distinctive features, its laws of synthesis by which complex ideas could be compressed in single words, were unknown, or but imperfectly understood. It had no recognizable affinity to any language of the old world. To English-speaking scholars, the Algonkin plan of thought was a confused maze; to English ears, the vocabulary was a jargon of harsh sounds, combined in words “long enough,” Cotton Mather thought, “to tire the patience of any scholar in the world. One would think,” he adds, “they had been growing ever since Babel, unto the dimensions to which they are now extended.”

But “prayer and pains,” wrote Eliot, “through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing; *Nil tam difficile quod non* —.”† His progress in the acquisition of the language must have been tolerably rapid, and after the first difficulties were overcome and a good knowledge of the vocabulary was gained, his facility in translating from English to Indian was

* The words in brackets (one line of the original) are omitted from the elsewhere very accurate reprint of the Indian Grammar, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 2d series, vol. ix.

† Postscript to the Indian Grammar.

really wonderful. The statement* that "he took great pains to learn their language and *in a few months* could speak of the things of God to their understanding," must be taken with large allowance: but in October, 1646, he had attained such proficiency that he ventured to preach to the Indians without an interpreter, at a meeting near Watertown Mill, a few miles from Cambridge. The place was afterwards named *Nonantum* (or *Noonatomen*), i. e., Rejoicing.† Here Waubun and his company "diligently attended to the blessed word then delivered," and "professed they understood all that which was taught them in their own tongue."

A few days after Eliot preached this first Indian sermon, in Waubun's wigwam, the general court made the order before mentioned, encouraging systematic effort for the instruction and conversion of the natives within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. At the same session a committee was appointed to purchase such parcels of land as they should deem meet "for the encouragement of the Indians to live in an orderly way amongst us;" the amount so expended "to be deducted out of the first gift that shall be brought over, as given for the good of the Indians."‡ The result of Eliot's experiment being yet doubtful, the general court perhaps deemed it the more prudent course to permit such as were hopeful of success to defray the cost of carrying on the work. The next spring, further encouragement was given by establishing courts of justice among the Indians and authorizing the sachems themselves to try small

* Winthrop, ii. 303. Gookin (Hist. Coll., 168) says, "it was *not long* after he sat upon the work of learning the language, that he adventured to make beginning to preach," &c.

† The Day-Breaking, p. 28. *Nonantum* means literally "I rejoice," or "am well-minded." The form *Noonatomen* (or *Nonantamun*) is plural, "We rejoice."

‡ Mass. Records, ii. 166.

causes, civil and criminal, and "all fines to be imposed upon any Indian, in any of the said courts, shall go and be bestowed towards the *building of some meeting houses*, or education of their poorer children in learning, or other publike use, by the advice of the said Mr. Eliot," &c. Moreover, the general court testified its approbation of Eliot's labors by voting him ten pounds, "as a gratuity from this court, in respect of his great paines and charge in instructing the Indians,"—and ordered that "the 20£ per annum given by the Lady Armin [of Lincolnshire] for that purpose may be called for and implied accordingly."*

But the colony was soon to be relieved of the necessity of sustaining—if merely by temporary advances from its treasury—the work in which Eliot was engaged. The reports of the promising beginnings of this work, when they had been published in England, drew general attention to it and encouraged its promoters to liberal contributions for its support. In July, 1649, the Corporation "for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England" was constituted by act of parliament, and the commissioners of the United Colonies were appointed to receive and disburse the moneys entrusted to the Corporation, "as might best conduce to the propagation of the gospel amongst the Indians," and "for maintenance of schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the Natives."†

For the first four years of his engagement in the public instruction of the Indians (1647–51) it does not appear that Eliot received any allowance from the funds of this corpora-

* Mass. Records, li. 188, 189.

† Hazard, i. 635.

tion. In addition to his salary as minister of Roxbury, (about sixty pounds a year,) he was paid twenty pounds a year by the colony, half of which, at least, and probably the whole, was drawn from special donations made by friends in England. The Commissioners of the United Colonies manifested little disposition, at first, to encourage his labors. They seem to have distrusted his ability as a translator. They rigidly scrutinized his expenditure not only of the small sums which from time to time they entrusted to his hands from the funds of the Corporation, but of the donations which he occasionally received direct from England. Their confidence in the success of his work was of slow growth; and when, in September, 1651, he applied to them for additional encouragement, they answered, that if his hope "that the Indians do really embrace the gospel" was well founded, the work was "worthy of due encouragement," but suggested that "the honour of Christ and of the Colonies" required that "all Christian prudence be used to judge aright" of the sincerity of Indian professions, "lest they should only follow Christ for loaves and outward advantage," and they "fear that some of those very Indians who have drunk in (through Mr. Eliot's continued labor) something of the knowledge of Christ, coming into these parts [the Commissioners were in session at New Haven] show little of the savor of it in their carriage," &c.* In 1653, at the instance of the Corporation in London, the Commissioners, not very graciously, consented to increase Mr. Eliot's allowance to £40 a year; and in 1656, again prompted by the Corporation, they added to it £10 more.

* Records U. Cols., ii. 203, 204.

At a later period, the Commissioners knew better how to appreciate both the man and the work. In 1672, recalling in a letter to the Corporation in England, the origin and early progress of Indian missions, they write as follows :*

"We cannot but take notice of God's hand in stirring up sundry, whereof the Reverend Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Mayhew deceased, were the *first* and *chief*, to attend that work of mercy to the souls of those poor natives ; and the same did continue constant in, for many years, when as yet they had received no incouragement from any in England or New England."

The story of Eliot's missionary labors has been so often told that it is become familiar to all readers. Historians and biographers have loved the theme, lingering with pleasure on this bright page of New England's annals, to join in eulogy to the good apostle of the Indians†—"the morning star of missionary enterprise"—"whose simplicity of life and manners, and evangelical sweetness of temper, won for him all hearts, whether in the villages of the emigrants or 'the smoaky cells' of the natives."‡

* Records U. Cols. ii. 354.

† The Rev. Thomas Thorowgood, in an address prefixed the Part Second of his "*Jewes in America*" (1660), commends the liberality of some gentlemen of Norfolk, who had contributed money to sustain Eliot's mission-work, and reminding them of the reward promised to the giver of even a cup of cold water, adds: "Your liberality hath not been cast only among the *little ones*, and to one in the name of a *disciple*, and in remote relation to Christ, but to one of his *near* ones, one of his *dear* ones: to a *Prophet*, yea, more than an ordinary prophet; I may say to an *Apostle*. . . . Mr. Eliot may well be styled the *Indian Apostle*," etc. It is to this, perhaps, that Increase Mather alludes, in his letter to Dr. Leusden (professor of Hebrew at Utrecht), in 1687, when he says that Eliot "has been (and not undeservedly) called 'the Apostle of the American Indians' (*Apostolus nostrorum temporum inter Indos Novangliae*)" The next year, Leusden dedicated his Hebrew-English Psalter, "To the very Reverend and pious John Eliot, . . . the Venerable Apostle of the Indians in America."

‡ Bancroft, ii. 94, 96.

Of one department only of his work—the one which suggested the subject of this paper—his translations into the Indian language, some brief notice may be taken here.

His first teacher, the Long-Island Indian before mentioned, left his service before 1648.* He was succeeded by Job Nesutan (i. e., ‘two tongued’), who became a “very good linguist in the English tongue,” and assisted in translating the Bible and some other works.† This Job was one of two young men of Waubun’s company who came in November, 1646, to Eliot’s house, “to offer themselves to the service of the English, that by dwelling in some of their families they might come to know Jesus Christ.”‡ Before October, 1650, Job had learned to read and write, and not long afterwards Eliot alludes to the “enlarged ability” of his helper, as “a great furtherance” of his work of translation.§

In 1653, the Commissioners of the United Colonies made provision for printing (at the charge of the Corporation in England) 500 or 1000 copies of a Catechism in the Indian language, prepared by Mr. Eliot; but in order “that the work may be carried on the more exactly and to better satisfaction,” they ordered that he should employ the assistance of Thomas Stanton, of Connecticut, whom the Commissioners considered to be “the most able interpreter we have in the country for that language.”|| This Catechism was printed before September, 1654.¶ No copy of it is known to be extant.

Mr. Eliot gave some offence to the Commissioners by neglecting to avail himself of the services of Thomas Stan-

* *Glorious Progresses*, 19.

† Gookin’s *History of the Christian Indians* (Archæol. Americana, ii. 444).

‡ *Day-Breaking, &c.*, p. 24. § *Strength out of Weakness*, p. 7. || *Records U. Colonies*, ii. 105, 106. ¶ *Ibid.*, 120.

ton. In their letter of September, 1654, they "wish that no inconvenience be found through the want" of Mr. Stanton's assistance, and they "now advise that before he proceed in translating the Scriptures, or any part of them, he improve the best helps the country affords for the Indian language, that, if it may be, the southwest Indians (some of whom we are now informed desire help, both for reading and to be instructed in the things of God and Christ) may understand and have the benefit of what is printed."*

Mr. Stanton, who was the official interpreter of the Commissioners, probably deserved the commendation they gave him as "the best interpreter of New England," but he was more familiar with the dialects of Connecticut and Narragansett than with that of the Indians of eastern Massachusetts among whom Eliot was laboring. Judging his attainments by Pierson's Catechism, which he "examined and approved," he seems to have had very little knowledge of the grammatical structure of Indian languages, and it is doubtful whether he could accurately frame a sentence in any dialect, though he spoke several well enough for the discharge of his official duties. His knowledge of the vocabulary was perhaps larger than Eliot's, but in speaking or writing "about the holy things of God, Mr. Eliot"—wrote Thomas Shepard, in 1648†—"excels any other of the English that, in the Indian language about common matters, excel him."

Before the middle of August, 1655, Eliot's translation of Genesis was printed, and that of the gospel of Matthew

* Records of U. Col., ii. 123. † The Clear Sun-shine &c., p. 12.

was in press,* and before December, 1658, "a few Psalms in Metre" had been printed.†

Mr. Abraham Pierson, minister of Bradford in New Haven colony, began to study the language of the Indians of south-western Connecticut (the Quiripi or Quinnipiac dialect) as early as 1651. He composed a catechism (Some Helps for the Indians &c.) "to suit these southern parts," a copy of which was sent to England, in 1657, to be printed, but it was lost at sea. It was re-written by Mr. Pierson, and, after having been "examined and approved by Thomas Stanton, and by some others of the most able interpreters amongst us," it was printed by order of the Commissioners, at Cambridge, 1658-59.

From the first, it had been Eliot's "great longing desire" to translate the whole Bible into the Indian language. "I look at it"—he wrote in 1649—"as a sacred and holy work, to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence."‡ In June, 1653, in a letter to Thomas Thorowgood, he says: "I have this winter translated the whole book of the Psalmes. While I live, if God please to assist me, I resolve to follow the work of translating the Scriptures."§ A little more than three years afterwards, Dec. 28, 1658, he could "bless the Lord, that the whole book of God is translated into their own language; it wanteth but revising, transcribing, and printing. Oh, that the Lord would so move, that by some means or other it may be printed!"||

The means were provided by the Corporation in London, and the printing of the New Testament was begun at Cam-

* Letter to Thorowgood, *Jewes in America*, pt. 2, p. 53.

† A further Accompt &c. (1659), Postscript. ‡ Glorious Progresse, &c.

§ *Jewes in America*, pt. 2, p. 53. || A further Accompt, &c.; Postscript.

bridge, in the autumn or early winter of 1659. It was "finished and set forth," September 5th, 1661, and by this time the impression of the Old Testament had advanced to the end of the Pentateuch. When the Commissioners met in September, 1663, the whole Bible had been printed, and an Indian version of the Psalms in metre was in press.* The edition of the New Testament was, probably, 1500 copies. Some of these were separately bound—and to a few copies a dedication to Charles II. was prefixed.† The rest of the edition was bound up with the Old Testament, with the Psalms in metre and a single leaf of rules of holy living (sometimes described as a catechism) at the end.‡ From a statement by the Commissioners in 1664, it appears that "the number of *Bibles* with Psalm Books printed was upwards of a thousand."§ Five hundred copies of a *Psalter* were printed;|| that is, probably, 500 extra copies of the Psalms were struck off from the forms used in printing the Old Testament, and these—with a special title-page perhaps—were separately bound.¶

Fortunate is the collector who now can boast the possession of a fair, well-margined copy, with the dedication, of

* Records of U. Colon., ii. 260, 265, 294-5; Gookin, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 176.

† See Thomas's Hist. of Printing, i. 471-474; Records U. Colon., ii. 250.

‡ These rules are given by way of answers to two questions: "1. How can I walk with God all the day long?" And "2. What should a Christian do, to keep perfectly holy the Sabbath day?" and, so far, the form is catechetical; but this leaf is not to be confounded with Eliot's *Catechism*, of which a second edition was printed in 1661 or 1662.

§ Record of U. Colonies, ii. 316. || Ibid.

¶ Mr. Thomas (History of Printing, i. 257) describes this *Psalter* as in "small octavo, 150 pages," but mentions it in another place (p. 481), as having occasionally been bound with Eliot's Indian Grammar, and the Grammar like the Bible was in (pot) quarto. The printer's bill is for "9 sheets"—precisely the number occupied by the Psalms in the Indian Bible (from sign Ttt3 to Aaaa1, with blank verso): and his charge for printing, £1 per sheet, is not large enough to include *composition*.

MAMCSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD. The long-coveted and dear-bought* prize may well take the place of honor on his book-shelves and he may be forgiven a little pride in the display of his treasure to less-favored book-lovers. But how incomplete is his satisfaction compared with that which filled the heart of the Apostle to the Indians when that little quarto, fresh from the hands of the unskilful binder, lay before him in his humble study at Roxbury. To him the completed volume brought fullness of joy. "Prayer and pains" had borne their precious fruit. Under discouragements that might have cooled any zeal less ardent than his—against difficulties that to others seemed insuperable—in toil unceasing, in privations manifold, forgetful of self, with faith that never wavered, with constancy never shaken, with a love which fainted not—he had worked on; and now, at last, his "great longing desire" was satisfied.

But he did not rest here. Before the Old Testament was out of press he had begun to translate Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*. He completed it on the last day of December, 1663, and it was printed the following year. A second edition of his *Catechism* (1500 copies) was printed in 1661 or '62. An abridged translation of Bishop Bayly's *Practice of Piety* ("Manitowompae Pomantamoonk") followed in 1665. A second edition of this work was printed in 1685. *The Indian Grammar begun* was written in the winter of 1664, his sons assisting in the work, and was printed in 1666. "*The Indian Primer, or the Way of Training up our youth of India in the knowledge of God,*" printed in

* A London bookseller (Mr. B. Quaritch), in a recent catalogue, marks a copy (in fine binding) at £225, and mentions the sale of another, without the dedication, for £200.

1669, was probably a second edition, for the delivery of some "Indian Primers" to Mr. Eliot is mentioned in the Treasurer's account for 1667.

In 1670, he wrote to the Corporation in London :

"Seeing they [the Indians] must have Teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be Teachers : for which cause I have begun to teach them the Art of Teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is (by the Grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labours to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analyze and lay out into particulars, both the Works and Word of God ; and how to communicate knowledge to others, methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity."*

In pursuance of this plan he composed and, in 1671, printed, in the English language, a little volume of "Indian Dialogues, for their instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Countrymen to the Knowledge of God, and of Themselves," and this was followed in 1672, by "The Logick Primer ; some logical notions, to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason," &c. Both these books are now extremely rare. Of the former the only known copy in this country is in the library Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York. There is a copy of the Logick Primer in the Library of the British Museum (Grenville Collection), and another in the Bodleian.

Eliot's next great work was the thorough revision of the Indian Bible, for a new impression. In 1675, the number of Praying Indians in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, including the islands, was estimated at 3,600.† Nearly all the copies of the first edition of the Bible had been dispersed among the converts. In the Indian war of 1675—

* A Brief Narrative, &c. (London, 1671), p. 5.

† Davis, in note to Morton's Memorial, 407-415.

1678, the greater part of these books were carried away and burnt or destroyed.* When peace was restored, a new edition was much needed. Mr. Eliot, now seventy-six years old, pressed on the work with unabated energy and zeal. In the revision he was greatly assisted by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth, but it is not true that "the second edition of the Indian Bible was," as Cotton Mather asserts, "*wholly* of Mr. Cotton's correction and amendment." Eliot's correspondence with Boyle proves that he was himself actively engaged in the work, though he acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Cotton, who, he writes, "has helped me much in the second edition."† The New Testament was printed in 1680 and 1681. The impression of the Old Testament, begun in 1682, was not completed till late in 1685. (Mr. Thomas, *Hist. of Printing*, i. 262, note, says, "till the beginning of 1686," but the dedication to Robert Boyle, which was prefixed to a few copies, is dated Oct 23, 1685). The work proceeded slowly for, as Eliot wrote to Boyle, in March, 1683: "We have but one man, viz., the Indian printer, that is able to compose the sheets and correct the

* "When the Indians were hurried away to an Island at half an hour's warning, poor souls, in terror they left their goods, books, bibles; only some few caryed their bibles, the rest were spoyled [?] & lost. So that when the warres were finished, and they returned to their places, they were greatly impoverished, but they especially bewailed the want of Bibles."—Eliot, in the Roxbury Church Records (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, i. 507). He told Dankers and Sluyter, the Labadist Missionaries who visited him in 1680, "that in the late Indian war all the Bibles and Testaments were carried away, and burnt or destroyed"—*Journal*, in *Coll. L. I. Hist. Society*, i. 383.

† 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 187. In the Roxbury Church Records, Eliot wrote a more particular account of his method of revision: "I also intreated Mr. John Cotton to help in the work, he having obtained some ability so to doe. He read over the whole Bible, and whatever doubts he had, he writ them downe in order, and gave them to me, to try them and file them over among our Indians."—Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, 507.

press, with understanding.”* This Indian printer, James, had been an apprentice to Green when the first edition of the Bible was printed, and had learned to read and write. In Philip’s war he joined his countrymen against the English, but in 1676, taking advantage of the proclamation of amnesty, returned to the service of his old master. He undoubtedly rendered great assistance in the revision and amendment of the second edition of the Bible. His name appears (“J. Printer”) with B. Green’s, in the imprint of the *Mussachusee Psalter*, Boston, 1709.

“My age makes me importunate”—Mr. Eliot wrote, in 1683: “I shall depart joyfully, may I but have the Bible among them, for it is the word of life.” “Our praying Indians,” he says in another letter to Boyle, “both in the islands and on the main, are, considered together, numerous; thousands of souls, and all of them beg, cry, intreat for *Bibles*, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want.” And again (Nov. 27, 1683): “The work goeth on, I praise God; the Sabbath is sanctified in many places, and they have still fragments of their old Bibles, which they make constant use of.”

These extracts suggest—and some may find in them a sufficient reply to—questions which are sometimes asked as to the merits of Eliot’s version, its intelligibility to the Indians, and its influence on their lives. One of his biographers was of opinion that “it failed to answer the pious purpose for which the translator labored in preparing it,” yet thought it “fairly presumable that, on the whole, his version was such as to give the Indians, in all important

* 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 181.

respects, about as correct and competent a knowledge of the Scriptures, as translations are generally found to do.”* A writer in the *North American Review*, October, 1860, (p. 431,) refuses to concede to Eliot even this partial success, and thinks “it may well be questioned, whether his translation of the Bible was of any service” to the Indians; because “it is more than doubtful whether this version was within itself clearly intelligible; for in the absence of lexicons, and in the exceeding poverty of the native tongue, the words that he was compelled to employ must have been often unsuited to the material objects which they designated and still oftener inadequate to the spiritual ideas they were intended to convey. And were this otherwise, we can hardly imagine that the subjects of his ministry could have acquired the art of reading with sufficient facility to profit by his labors.”

To this it may be answered, generally, that the inferences and implications of the reviewer are drawn from mistaken premises. To take the last first, there is abundant evidence that many of the praying Indians *did* acquire the art of reading with facility books printed in their language, and this even before the first edition of Eliot’s version of the Bible was put into their hands. In September, 1660—only Genesis and a portion of the New Testament had then been printed—the Commissioners wrote to the Corporation in London: “We have been informed that about one hundred of Mr. Eliot’s Indians can read in the Bible, and many other about Plymouth, Martin’s Vineyard and other places.”† In the dedication of the New Testament to Charles II., they say: “There are divers of them that can and do reade some

* Francis, *Life of Eliot*, 237, 238. † *Records U. Cols.*, ii. 242.

parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been translated into their own language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater work," &c. As early as 1651, Eliot wrote*: "It hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter, to learn to read and write, *wherein they do very much profit with a very little help*, especially some of them, for they are very ingenious;" and again (soon after his beginning at Natick): "I hope the Lord will raise up among themselves such as will (with my oversight and care to teach them) be able to teach the children and youth, for they can both read and write, and my scope is to traine up all I can to be able so to be."† His method of instruction was, to write, in each schoolmaster's book, his Catechism and translated portions of Scripture, and these served for reading and writing lessons for the scholars.‡ In this way and, a few years later, by the help of printed catechisms and primers, a great number of these scholars, young and old, were prepared, before 1663, to make profitable use of the Indian Bible. That this *was*, in fact, much used and diligently studied, the condition of many of the copies which have been preserved to our time, sufficiently attests. A writer in the "Historical Magazine," for February, 1861, calls attention to the evidence presented by a copy of the second edition, (now in the library of Bowdoin College) of "constant use in the hands of persons who resorted to it with great care and long continued frequency." One of the copies in our library, which contains the autograph of its Indian owner, bears similar testimony (as was mentioned by

* Strength out of Weaknesse, p. 6. † Letter of July 4, 1651, in "Mercurius Politicus," Sept. 25th. ‡ Strength out of Weaknesse, 7, 10.

Mr. Paine in the April report of the Council), and a copy that once belonged to an Indian convert on the Vineyard (and which is now in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society) not only shows, throughout, marks of frequent use, but, in some portions—particularly, the first half of Genesis, a considerable part of the books of Isaiah, and the Psalms—the paper is fairly worn out by much handling.

A still less questionable proof of the general use of this version among the Praying Indians is found in a statement by the Rev. Experience Mayhew, in a letter* from the Vineyard in 1722. The difference between the dialects of that Island and the main land of Massachusetts “was formerly,” he writes, “somewhat greater than now it is, before our Indians had the use of the Bible and other books translated by Mr. Eliot; but, *since that, the most of the little differences that were betwixt them have been happily lost*, and our Indians speak, but especially write, much as those of Natick do.” A book which could not be read understandingly, and with facility, would not have abolished, in a half century, dialectic distinctions, however slight.

A word, now, as to the *quality* of the version. No good reason can be given why it was not—or might not be—“within itself clearly intelligible”; *as* clearly intelligible, that is, as any translation from the Hebrew and Greek to a modern language can be. It is true that the vocabulary of every Indian language is, in one sense, limited; but, on the other hand, the resources of the language for enlarging its vocabulary as necessity may require, are exhaustless. “Lexicons” or dictionaries are superfluous. Whenever new words are wanted they can readily be framed, from known

* In the possession of our associate, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.

elements, in accordance with established laws of verbal synthesis; and every word so constructed is *self-defining*. It is true that there are English words which cannot be adequately translated into Indian; and so there are words in the original Hebrew and Greek which have not been satisfactorily rendered into Indian or English. Eliot did for such words just what had been done by the authors of the English version. He transferred them directly to the Indian text, with such change of affix or inflexion as Indian grammar required. The use of *salt* was unknown to the Algonkins and the word itself was untranslatable. Therefore, it will be found in its English form, as noun and verb, throughout Eliot's version*—just as “bdellium” and “leviathan” and “shushan-eduth,” and other names, the meaning of which was not clear to the translators, are still found in our English Bible. For the Old Testament especially—for all that relates to the history of peoples under patriarchal government, of nomadic life, separated in tribes, dwellers in tents; accustomed to receive truth by symbols and types, veiled by apologues or parables, or hid in riddles; people who worshipped in song and dance, and offered the first fruits of the earth and the choicest morsels of their meats, in thanksgiving or as a propitiation; who sought counsel of their prophets and priests, or in the assembly of the elders; who gathered by tribes to celebrate, in lodges constructed of green boughs, their solemn feasts; who looked for revelations of the will of the Great Spirit by signs and tokens, in dreams, and from soothsayers

* As in Mark ix. 50: “*salt* wunnegen, qut *salt* wannahteunk wussaltānū-oonk, uttoh wonk moh kussaltancheauwunneau?” Salt is-good, but salt when-it-loses its-saltiness, wherewith again can you-make-it-salt?

—who heard his voice in the thunder, and felt his anger in flood or tempest, in drought or famine, or devouring fire—in short, for the whole Old Testament story—the language of the Indians offered a medium of translation certainly not inferior to the English or to any language of modern Europe. Moreover, considering the nicety of the Indian grammatical apparatus, the contrivances for imparting by slight changes of form an almost endless variety of meanings to verb or noun, discriminating with infallible accuracy the slightest differences of denotation—it may well be questioned whether, even for the expression of spiritual ideas, these languages can, by comparison with the greater number of those into which the Bible has been successfully translated, justly be regarded as deficient. But here there may be room for difference of opinion, and the question opens a field of discussion into which this is not the time or place to enter.

A second edition of the translation of the *Practice of Piety*, in 1685, has been mentioned before; and a second edition of *Baxter's Call* was printed in 1688. In 1689, a translation of Shepard's *Sincere Convert*, which had been nearly completed by Eliot in 1664, was revised by Grindal Rawson and printed in a volume of 164 pages.

Eliot rested from his labors May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six. The words in which, almost at the beginning of his mission-work, he was described by one who knew him well, might appropriately serve as his epitaph: "A man of a most sweet, loving, gracious, and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in and do good by."*

* The Day-Breaking, &c., p. 29.

Of the works of translation of his successors, Grindal Rawson, Samuel Danforth, Experience Mayhew, and others, no special notice can be taken here. Their titles will be found in the annexed catalogue. In 1698, five sermons of Increase Mather, translated by Mr. Danforth, were printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, at Boston; and this is believed to have been the first book printed in the Indian language after the removal of the press from Cambridge. In 1707, Cotton Mather published, under the title of "Another Tongue brought in," &c., a little volume designed for the religious instruction of the Iroquois Indians of the province of New York. The catalogue of books in the dialect of eastern Massachusetts ends with the Indian Primer of 1720—for the few pages in Mather's "India Christiana" were introduced merely as "a taste of the language." It is not known to the compiler that anything was printed, in any dialect of New England, between 1721 and 1775.

Respectfully submitted,

For the Council,

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

1

BOOKS AND TRACTS IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGE

OR

DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF THE INDIANS,

PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE AND BOSTON,

1653-1721.

The first considerable vocabulary of the Massachusetts language was "A small Nomenclator," comprising upwards of 300 words and short phrases, appended to William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, London, 1634.

"A KEY into the LANGUAGE OF AMERICA: or, An help to the *Language* of the *Natives* in that part of America, called NEW-ENGLAND. Together with briefe *Observations* of the Customes," etc., by ROGER WILLIAMS, was printed in London in 1643, in a small octavo; 14 sheets, 224 pages, including title-leaf (but with several errors of pagination). It was reprinted, for the first time, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, first series, vols. iii. and v. Again, by the Rhode Island Historical Society in their first volume of *Collections*, Providence, 1827, 8vo. And, with an Introduction and notes by J. H. Trumbull, in the first volume of the Narragansett Club's *Publications*, Providence, 1866, sm. 4to.

Copies of the original edition are in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society, Mass. Historical Society, John Carter Brown (5), George Brinley (2), Charles Deane, S. M. L. Barlow, Henry C. Murphy, the Prince Library in Boston, &c.

PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1653-54. [A Catechism, by John Eliot.]

The Commissioners of the U. Colonies wrote, Sept. 24, 1653: "Mr. Eliot is preparing to print a Catechism in the Indian language," etc.; and they authorized the Commissioners for Massachusetts to order the printing of 500 or 1000 copies. *Records of Commrs.*, ii. 105, 106. The next year, Sept. 25, they wrote, "One Catechism is already printed, and Mr. Peirson is preparing another," etc. *Id.* 129. Of this little book, which, so far as is known, appears to have been the first printed in New England in the Indian language, no copy has been found. A "new impression" was made in 1662, which will be noticed in its place.

1655. [The Book of GENESIS, and the Gospel of MATTHEW, translated by John Eliot.]

See the preceding Report, p. 31. Eliot wrote, Aug. 16, 1655: "Genesis is printed, and we are upon Matthew." (Thorowgood's *Jewes in America*, pt. II., p. 53.) In December, 1658, he mentions "those pieces that were printed, viz., Genesis and Matthew," which he "had sent to such as he thought had best skill in the language and intreated their animadversions, but heard not of any faults they found." (*A further Accompt of the Progressse*, etc., pp. 2, 3.)

1658? [Psalms in Metre.]

In a postscript to the "Epitomy of such Exhortations as these Indians . . . did deliver," etc., sent by Eliot to the Corporation, Dec. 28, 1658, he wrote: "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own language, save Genesis and Matthew, and a few *Psalmes in Meeter*." (A further Accompt, etc.). The Treasurer's account presented Sept., 1659, includes a payment "To Mr. Green, in part for printing the *Psalmes*."

1658. *Some Helps for the INDIANS Shewing them How to improve their natural Reason, to know the True GOD, and the true Christian Religion.* 1. By leading them to see the Divine Authority of the *Scriptures*. 2. By the *Scriptures* the Divine Truths necessary to *Eternal Salvation*. Undertaken *At the Motion, and published by the Order of the COMMISSIONERS of the United Colonies.* by ABRAHAM PEIRSON. Examined, and approved by THOMAS STANTON, Interpreter-General to the United Colonies for the *Indian Language*, and by some others of the most able Interpreters amongst us. CAMBRIDGE, Printed by *Samuel Green*, 1658.

The title is within a border of the acorn pattern (like that which encloses the titles of the Indian Bible), sm. 8vo. Title, verso blank; "To the Reader" (signed A. P.), p. 3 (A2, recto); the Indian title, with interlinear English translation, p. 4 (A2, verso); the Catechism, Indian and English, interlinear throughout, pp. 5-67 (A3, to recto of E2). In 1654, Mr. Pierson, of Branford, in New Haven Colony, was preparing a catechism, "to suit these south-west parts [of New England], where the language differs from theirs who live about the Massachusetts." He exhibited a specimen of his work to the Commissioners, in 1656, and was advised to perfect it and, with the assistance of Thomas Stanton, "to turn it into the Narragansett or Pequot language." A copy of the completed catechism was sent to England to be printed, in 1657, but the vessel was lost at sea. Mr. Pierson made another copy, from which the work was printed at Cambridge, between September, 1658, and the winter of 1659. The impression was not quite completed when the Commissioners met in September, 1659. Rec. U. Cols., II. 120, 176,

188, 203, 204, 216. The first sheet was printed in time to be sent to England by the ship which carried Elliot's and Endicott's letters of Dec. 28, 1658, and was reprinted in London by the Corporation, at the end of the tract entitled, "A further Account of the Progresses of the Gospel," &c. — the re-print making pp. 22-35 of the tract (sm. 4to), with separate title-page, on which the imprint "LONDON: Printed by M. Simmons, 1659." is substituted for Green's.

Only two copies of the original edition have been found: one is in the library of Mr. Lenox, the other in the British Museum; but in the latter, another title page has been inserted in place of the original. The two correspond (differences of type excepted) as far as to the name of the author. The British Museum copy has—"By ABRAHAM PIERSON Pastor of the Church at *Brandford*. Examined and approved by that Experienced Gentleman (in the Indian Language) Captain JOHN SCOT. — CAMBRIDGE: Printed for *Samuel Green*, 1658."

From what is known of that mischievous adventurer, Captain John Scott (see Palfrey's History of N. England, II. 564-569, note,) it is highly probable that this title page was substituted by himself, or at his motion, and, probably, after the restoration. The imprint, it will be noticed, is "*for* [not *by*] Samuel Green."

The advice of the Commissioners "to turn it into the Narragansett or Pequot language" was not followed. The catechism remains in the dialect of "the southwest parts," i. e., the Quiripi (or Quinipiack), spoken from New Haven westward, near Long Island Sound, and presents the only known specimen of that dialect.

1661. THE NEW TESTAMENT of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. Translated into the INDIAN LANGUAGE, and Ordered to be Printed by the *Commissioners of the United Colonies* in NEW-ENGLAND, At the Charge, and with the Consent of the CORPORATION IN ENGLAND *For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*. — CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCLXI.

WUSKU WUTTESTAMENTUM NUL-LORDUMEN JESUS CHRIST Nuppoquoquwussuaneumun. — [Lozenge-shaped ornament, composed of 32 small printer's-marks.] — Cambridge: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCLXI.

Titles, within acorn-pattern borders outside of single rules. The Indian title, literally translated, is: "New his-Testament our-Lord Jesus Christ our-deliverer." sm. 4to. The size of the printed page is 6½ by 4½ inches (including head lines). The paper was of the size known as "pot," and the type is by Thomas, (l. 255), called "full-faced bourgeois on brevier body." The accurate collation and description of Elliot's version of the New Testament, in its first and second editions, and of the Bible of 1663 and 1685, which were given by Mr. Lenox in *The Historical Magazine* (New York, 1858), vol. II., pp. 307, 308, and Dr. O'Callaghan's full notes, in his *List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures printed in America* (pp. 1-18), leave little to

be desired. One sheet, at least, was printed before September 7, 1659, and sent to the Corporation in England, with the letter of the Commissioners of that date (see Rec. U. Cols., ii. 239). Six sheets were printed by Green before the arrival of Johnson in the summer of 1660 (Id. 245). The work was completed before the meeting of the Commissioners, Sept. 5, 1661. The "preface" or "epistle dedicatory" was framed and approved before their adjournment, but not, perhaps, on their day of meeting, Sept. 5th, as Gookin states (In 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 176); and, Sept. 13th, the Commissioners directed Mr. Usher to "take care for the printing" of it "before the New Testament, with the title, according to copy sent." (Rec. U. C., ii. 264.) The English title and the Epistle, printed on a sheet of which the first leaf was left blank, were inserted between the first (blank) and second leaves of the first sheet as originally printed,—and the signature A3 is repeated. JL. GB. GL. JCB. Harv. Univ.

16—? Christiane Onoowae Sampoowaonk | The same
in English. A Christian Covenanting Confession. 1 page,
sm. 4to, in two columns, Indian and English. No date.

The upper half of the page contains nine articles of belief, with Scripture proofs. Below (separated by a single rule across the page) are, in five articles, a confession of faith in Christ, and a form of Covenant, prepared for the use of Indian converts: "Wee that dwell in this Towne called [*a blank space*] are gladly willing to bind ourselves to God, to Remember the Sabbath day," etc., and "give ourselves and our children to Jesus Christ, to walk with Him in Church Order, so long as we live."

The first Indian church was gathered in 1660, at Natick; but Mr. Elliot had proposed the admission of the Indian converts to church estate, eight or nine years before this. Some peculiarities of orthography in the Indian version of this "covenanting confession" seem to indicate that it was printed *before* the Bible. It is alluded to by Cotton Mather (Magnalia, iii. 3. p. 178): "Unto the general engagements of a covenant with God which it was his desire to bring the Indians into, he added a particular article, wherein they bind themselves *mehquontamunat Sabbath. pahketeaunat tohsahke pomantamog*, i. e., to remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live."

The only known copy is in the Congregational Library, Boston.

1662. [A Catechism, by John Eliot. Second impression.]

This "new impression of a Catechism" is mentioned by the Commissioners in 1661, in their estimate of expenditure for the ensuing year. Mr. Usher was instructed "to take order for re-printing of 1000 copies" (Rec. U. Cols., ii. 260, 265). In his account, presented Sept., 1662, is an item for "printing 1500 Catechisms, £15.09.00" (ibid. 278). The cost of printing, at this period, was about £2.10 per sheet, for 1000 copies (exclusive of paper, which was supplied by the Corporation), and this would not be increased more than twenty per cent. (to £3) by the press-work on 500 additional copies. At £3 per sheet, the Catechism must have required five sheets (80 pages, sm. 8vo.), to bring the cost of the edition to £15. This agrees nearly with the charge of paper for printing the first

edition in 1654; when "for the two Catechisms," Elliot's and Peirson's, Green used 30 reams. Not more than 14½ reams was required for Peirson's (4½ sheets per copy, edition of 1500), leaving at least 15½ for Elliot's, or sufficient for a small 8vo. of 70 to 75 pages. See, after, *The Indian Primer*, 1669, 168-?

1663. MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD NANEESWE NUKKONE TESTAMENT KAH WONK WUSKU TESTAMENT. — Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST noh asowesit JOHN ELIOT. — CAMBRIDGE: Printeuoꝝ nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Marmaduke Johnson*. 1663.

[Literally translated: The-whole Holy his-Bible God, both Old Testament and also New Testament. This turned by the-servant-of Christ, who is-called John Eliot.] sm. 4to.

This title, and that of the New Testament, are enclosed by acorn-pattern borders and single rules. For the history and description of this first edition of the Indian Bible complete, see Thomas, *History of Printing*, i. 225, 469-478. For collations of the several varieties of impression and arrangement, see Mr. Lenox's paper in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. ii., pp. 306-308; O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, pp. 8-12; and a special collation of a copy formerly belonging to Mr. John Allan of New York (now in the library of Mr. Brintley of Hartford), in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 87, 88.

I. The regular edition for the use of the Indians, with *Indian titles, only*, (Old Testament, 1663; New Testament, 1661), Psalms in Metre, and so-called Catechism (one-leaf). The first title leaf has the verso blank; the next leaf has the recto blank, and on the verso the names and numbers of chapters of the books of the Old and New Testaments (*Booke Wesuongash*, etc.). The title-page of the N. T. has the lozenge-shaped ornament (or "star") of 32 printer's-marks, as in the separately bound copies of 1661.

II. Copies with the *Dedication* to Charles II., and an *English general title*:

The Holy Bible: containing the Old Testament and the New. — Translated into the Indian Language, and Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, At the Charge, and with the Consent of the Corporation in England For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. — Cambridge: Printed by *Samuel Green* and *Marmaduke Johnson*. MDCCLXIII.

This title is on the recto of the *second* leaf of a sheet, leaving a preliminary *blank* leaf. The *Dedication* (4 pp.) follows, having on its first page the signature A3, and ending on the verso of A4. In binding these copies, the *Indian title* leaf was cut off, before prefixing the English title and dedication sheet — between which and the beginning of Genesis remains the single leaf which has on one side the Names of the Books. In a copy in the Library of Brown University, Providence, the English title and dedication were prefixed, without removal of the Indian title. In some dedication copies, the title page of the New Testament is *without the lozenge* or "star," and Dr. O'Callaghan pointed out (*Am. Bibles*, p. 9) that, in a copy of this description, some errors of the press which are found in the separately bound copies of the New Testament, had been corrected, while the sheet (sign. L) was passing through the press.

"The number of Bibles with Psalms printed, were upwards of a thousand." (MSS. Rec. U. Cols.) For printing the Bible (not including the Psalms in Metre) Mr. Green used 368 reams of paper. With the usual allowance for waste sheets, this would work 161,920 sheets. The Bible contains 544 leaves, or 136 sheets; the New Testament 128 leaves, or 32 sheets. The Psalms (as printed in the Old Testament, and separately worked as the "Psalter") 9 sheets. Assuming that the edition of the New Testament was 1500, of which 500 were bound separately, we have the distribution of the paper nearly as follows:

500 New Testaments, of 32 sheets.	Sheets, 16,000
500 Psalters,	9 " " 4,500
1040 Bibles,	136 " " 141,440
	<hr/> 161,940 sheets,

within a single quire of the 368 reams charged. The first edition of the Bible was "upwards of a thousand," but, probably, not quite 1050. "Twenty copies of the Bible and as many of the Psalms" were sent to England, by order of the Commissioners, Sept. 18, 1663, for presents. These were sent in sheets, and were bound in London, by order of the Corporation, in 1664. They probably all contained the dedicatory epistle. AAS. GB.(3). JL.(2). HCM.(2).

1663. Waime Ketohomae Uketohomaongash David.
[i. e. All the-singing Songs-of David.]

Eliot's version of the Psalms in Metre, bound with the Bible: 50 leaves on 13 sheets, sigs. A to verso N2, two columns on a page. The title, as above, stands at the head of the first page. The third leaf of the last sheet (N3) contains what has been called a Catechism, (see the preceding report, p. 33,) comprising brief directions for leading a Christian life.

1663. [The Psalter.]

The Commissioners, Sept. 10, 1664, write that 500 *Psalters* have been printed (Rec. U. Cols. ii. 316), and the same year there is an item in the Treasurer's account for "printing 9 sheets of the Psalter, at 20 shillings a sheet." This charge is too small to include *composition*, and it is probable that these 500 copies of the Psalms were worked from the forms used in printing the Old Testament and were bound up separately. See the preceding Report, p. 33, note.

1664. [WEHKOMANGANOO ASQUAM PEANTOGIG *kah asquam Quinnuppegig*, etc. CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Mar-maduke Johnson*, 1664.]

Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, translated by Eliot. On the last page is "*Finitur*, 1663, December 31." It was "printed and dispersed," in an edition of 1000 copies, before Sept., 1664. See Eliot's letter in Col. Records of Connecticut, iii. 484, and Rec. U. Cols., ii. 316. Printed by Johnson: see Rec. U. Cols., ii. 294, and Conn. Records, i. c.

It was re-printed in 1688, and will be more particularly noticed under that year.

1665. *Manitowompae* POMANTAMOONK: Sampwshanaun Christianoh Uttoh woh an POMANTOG Wussikkitchahonat God. — 1 Tim. 4. 8. [Quotation, two lines.] — CAMBRIDGE: Printed in the year 1665. sm. 8vo, pp. 397, 3 n. n.

Translated: Godly Living: Directs a-Christian how he may live to-please God. This is Elliot's (abridged) translation of *The Practice of Piety*, by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor. The translation was begun in the winter of 1664-5, at the suggestion of Robert Boyle and the Corporation in England (Col. Rec. Conn., iii. 484-5). A second edition, revised by Elliot, was printed in 1685. Of these two editions, Mr. Thomas (Hist. of Printing, i. 258, 262) has made four: "The Practice of Piety," in 1665, and again in 1667; "Manitowompae Pomantamoonk," in 1685; and "Practice of Piety," again, in 1687. He had not seen the original edition of 1665, for he describes it as of "about 160 pages," instead of about 400. As to an edition of 1667, he probably was misled by a charge in the treasurer's account in 1667, for *binding* 200 copies of the Practice of Piety (Rec. U. Cols., ii. 330), but these must have been part of the edition of 1665.

AAS. GH.

1666. THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN: OR, *An Essay to bring the Indian Language into RULES*, For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them. — BY JOHN ELIOT. — Isa. 33. 19 [followed by Isa. 66. 18, Dan. 7. 14, Psal. 19. 3, and Mal. 3. 11; nine lines.] — CAMBRIDGE: Printed by *Marmaduke Johnson*. 1666. sm. 4to, pp. (4,) 66.

Title, within a border of printer's ornaments; verso blank: Dedication "To the Right Honourable Robert Boyle Esq; Governour:" etc., 2 pp. (A2): "The Indian Grammar Begun," pp. 1-66 (A3-13, verso), followed by a blank leaf.

Mr. Thomas (i. 257) assigns this volume to Green, and to "about 1664," but, he says, "no year is mentioned." Perhaps he took his date from a reference to the work in Elliot's letter to Boyle, Aug. 26, 1664: see Boyle's works (fol. 1744) vol. v., p. 548. See also, his letter to the Comm'rs, Aug. 25, 1664, in Col. Rec. Conn., iii. 484. Mr. Thomas cannot have seen the Grammar, for he describes it (i. 480) as occasionally bound with the Psalter, in *small octavo*.

The edition was, probably, 500. There is a charge in the Treasurer's account presented in 1667, for binding 450 Indian Grammars, at 3 sh. per hundred. Perhaps some of the remaining 50 copies were bound with the New Testament, others with the Psalter.

Reprinted, with introductory and supplementary observations by John Pickering, and notes by P. S. Duponceau, in 2 Mass. Hist. Collections, ix. 223-312 and (notes) i-liv.

GB.

1669. [The Indian Primer, or the Way of Training up

our Youth of India in the Knowledge of God. Cambridge: 1669. 24mo.]

A copy of this edition of Eliot's Primer is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The title here given is from the library catalogue. It is not mentioned by Thomas, or in the Records of the Commissioners, but a charge in the Treasurer's account presented in Sept., 1667, for "Indian Bibles, *Primers*, &c., delivered to Mr. Eliot and Mr. John Cotton, and the Scholars" (MSS. Records), shows that there was an *earlier* edition than this of 1669. The first which Mr. Thomas notes is under date of 1687.

1671. INDIAN DIALOGUES, For their Instruction in that great service of CHRIST, in calling home their Countrymen to the *Knowledge of God*, and of themselves, and of JESUS CHRIST. Mal. i. 11. *For from the rising of the Sun* [etc., 6 lines.] Printed at CAMBRIDGE. 1671.

Wide 16mo, or *very small* 4to. Title within a printer's border; verso blank. Dedication to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, signed J. E. (2 pp. A2). Preface, signed J. E. (half a page); Introduction of the Dialogues (half a page). Dialogue I. begins on verso of A3 (p. 2), and Dialogue III. ends on recto of K4 (p. 81). Signatures in fours; pp. 61-66 are omitted in pagination. The three Dialogues are all *in English*. In the preface, Eliot says: "If the Lord give life and length of dayes, I may hereafter put forth these, or the like Dialogues in the Indian Tongue." This book was one of those which Eliot designed for the instruction of Indian *teachers*, in the art of teaching.

Only two copies have been traced; one in the Bodleian library, the other in the library of Mr. James Lenox, who has obligingly communicated the full title and collation.

Printed, *probably*, by Marmaduke Johnson. Not mentioned by Mr. Thomas.

1672. [The Logick Primer. Some Logical Notions to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason, . . . especially for the Instruction of such as are Teachers among them. Composed by J. E. for the use of the Praying Indians. Cambridge, 1672.]

Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, who was paid by order of the Commissioners, Sept., 1672, "for printing, stitching, and cutting of a thousand Indian Logick Primers, £6.00.00." For the design of this little work, and of the "Indian Dialogues," see the preceding Report, p. 35.

Copies are in the library of the British Museum and the Bodleian. It is described as a 36mo; perhaps like the "Indian Dialogues," a "wide 16mo or *very small* 4to."

1680. WUSKU WUTTESTAMENTUM NUL-LORDUMN IESUS CHRIST Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun. — CAMBRIDGE, *Printed for the Right Honourable CORPORATION in London, for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England.* 1680.

Title within a border of printer's ornaments (part acorn-pattern) outside of single rules; verso blank. Text begins on A2, recto; ends on recto of Kk2, verso blank. The Psalms in metre (*Wame Ketohomae uketohomaongash DAVID*) begin on Kk3 and end on verso of Yy4, followed by the "catechism" in Indian, 2 pp.

Bound with the Bible of 1685; few copies, if any, having been made up separately. In November, 1681, the impression had advanced to the 19th chapter of the Acts, and Eliot wrote, that as soon as the New Testament was finished, they should go on "preparing and impressing the Old." (Letter to Boyle, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 180).

1685. MAMUSSE WUNNEETUPANATAMWE UP-BIBLUM GOD NANEESWE-NUKKONE TESTAMENT KAH WONK WUSKU TESTAMENT. — Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST noh asowesit JOHN ELIOT. Nahohtôen onchetôe Printeuomuk. — CAMBRIDGE. Printeuoop nashpe *Samuel Green.* MDCLXXXV. sm. 4to.

Second edition of Eliot's version of the Bible. The impression began in 1680, with the New Testament: the Old was not completed till the autumn of 1685. The edition was 2000. See the preceding Report, p. 24; Thomas's *History of Printing*, I. 262, 479; O'Callaghan's *American Bibles*, 13-18; Mr. Lenox's collation in *The Historical Magazine*, II. 308.

The title is the same as in the first edition, with the addition, after the name of the translator, of the words *Nahohtôen onchetôe Printeuomuk*, "second-time amended impression."

At the end of the Old Testament, on verso of Ppppp 1, are the words *Wuhkukquohsinnog Quoshodtumwaenuog* (I. e., 'The Prophets are ended'). The next leaf has the recto blank; on the verso, the names of the books (*Booke Wesuonqash, &c.*) of the Old and New Testaments, and, at the foot of the page is the line: "James I. 26. Asuhkaene wenan, ogketash, qut asookekodtam nehenwonche wutah." This is an *erratum*: "James I. 26. After wenan, read, qut asookekodtam" &c. These words, omitted from the verse as printed in the New Testament, mean, "but deceiveth his own heart."

In two copies — one in the Prince Library, Boston, the other now in the library of Mr. George Brinley (formerly belonging to the Marquis of Hastings) — has been found a dedication "To the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq: Governour, And to the Company, for the Propagation of The Gospel" &c., dated, Boston, October 23, 1685, subscribed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hinckley. This is printed on a single page, the recto of a leaf inserted between the title-leaf and beginning of the text.

AAS.(2). CHS.(2). YC.(2). JL.(2). GB.(3).

168-? [Indian Primer, by John Eliot. Cambridge. 16mo.]

On a copy of this primer (without a title page) in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, is written, in the hand of Rev. Thomas Prince: "Mr. B. Green says, composed by Mr. Eliot, & Print^d at Camb. ab^t 1684." It is, probably, the same edition which Mr. Thomas (i. 263) enters under the year 1687, with the remark that "it had gone through several previous editions at the expense of the corporation." One—not the first—edition has been noticed, s. a. 1669. This may be the same book which Mr. Thomas enters, the same year, as "Eliot's Catechism."

The Mass. Hist. Society's copy is a wide 16mo., or, as it would now be called 32mo, measuring $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{4}$ wide, nearly; the signatures in eights. The first sheet is complete, and its first page, though without title, date or imprint, may have been the first of the tract as originally printed: it has an acorn-pattern border, and between two short single rules is the verse, Prov. 22. 6 ("Train up a child in the way he should go," etc.) in Indian. On the 2d and 3d leaves are alphabets, roman and italic, and spelling lessons; on the 4th leaf (recto) "The Lord's Prayer" in English and Indian, which is expounded, in questions and answers, on the 4th, 5th, and recto of 6th leaves. Then follow—"The Ancient Creed," with exposition; "The Large Catechism" (pp. 1-59, page 1 being the *verso* of the 7th leaf, and the second sheet (sign. B) beginning with page 4); "A Short Catechism," pp. 60-62; and on the next four pages (not numbered), "The Numeral Letters and Figures," roman and arabic, from 1 to 150, ending with "Fins" on [p. 66] the recto of E8. Indian and English, throughout.

1685. MANITOWOMPAE POMANTAMOONK [etc.]
CAMBRIDGE: Printed for the right Honorable Corporation
in London for the Gospelizing the Indians, in New-England,
1685. sm. 8vo, pp. 333. [349], 3 n.n.

The second edition of Eliot's version of *The Practice of Piety*. See, before, s. a. 1665. Four typographical errors on the title-page show that Eliot's eyes were becoming dim, or that his proof-reader was untrustworthy. Aug. 29, 1686, Eliot wrote to Boyle: "The Practice of Piety is finished, and beginneth to be bound up." (1 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 187.)

GB. Pr. Libr. (3). Harv. Univ.

1688. WEHKOMAONGANOO ASQUAM PEANTOGIG *kah asquam Quinnuppegig*, Tokonogque mahehe woskeche Peantamwog. Onk woh sampwutteahae Peantamwog. Wutanakausonk wunneetou noh nohtompeantog. — USSOWESU Mr. RICHARD BAXTER. — KAH Yenyeu qushkinnun en INDIANE Wuttinnontowaonganit. Wussohsumowontamunat owesunok God ut Christ Jesus ut, kah wenecheonat INDIANSOG. — Ezek. 33. 11. *Qushkek*, [etc.] — CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by *S. G.* for the Corporation in LONDON for the
INDIANS in NEW-ENGLAND. 1688. 8vo, pp. 188.

This is the second edition of Eliot's translation of Baxter's *Call*, first printed in 1664.

The title is within a narrow border: verso of title-leaf, blank. On page 3 (A2), under a head-ornament of the acorn pattern, four lines ("En wame asquam quanuppegg," etc.) precede *Chap. I.*, which begins with a seven-line capital M. Signatures in eights, A-M. Ends on p. 188, with a prayer beginning "QUT, wol ken" etc. Below, between single rules, "*Finitur*, 1663, December 31."

AAS. GB. MHS. Harv. Univ. Pr. Libr.

1689. *Samprutteahae* QUINNUPPEKOMPAAENIN. Wahuwômook oggussemesuog Sampwutteahâe Wunnamptamwaenuog, Mache wussukhûmun ut English-Mâne Unnon-toowaonk nashpe Ne muttâe-wunnegenûe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST Noh assowesit THOMAS SHEPHARD Quinnuppenûmun en INDIANE Unnontôwaonganit nashpe Ne Quttianatamwe wuttinneumoh CHRIST Noh assowesit JOHN ELIOT. Kah nawhutehe ut aiyeuongash oggusemese oncheteauun Nashpe GRINDAL RAWSON. — Matth. 24. 14. *Kah yeu* [etc., eight lines]. CAMBRIDGE. Printed by *Samuel Green*, in the Year, 1689. sm. 8vo, pp. (4), 161.

[*Translation* : The-Sincere Convert [*literally*, 'man who stands turned-about']. Making-known they-are-few sincerely who-believe. Having-been written in Englishman's language by that very-excellent Servant-of Christ who is-named THOMAS SHEPARD, is-turned into Indian language by that honoured Servant-of Christ who is-named JOHN ELIOT, and in some places a-little amended by GRINDAL RAWSON.]

Title enclosed by single rules, verso blank: 2d leaf (not paged) has, on recto, *Anakausuogane Petutteaonk* (Introduction), and, on verso, Articles of Belief, in Indian. *Samprutteahae Quinnuppekompaaenin* etc. begins on A3 and ends on L3, pp. 1-161. The verso of L3 is blank, and a blank leaf makes up the half-sheet.

Eliot wrote the Commissioners in 1664, Aug. 25th: "I have Mr. Shepard's Synccare Convert & Sound Believer almost translated, though not ftted and finished for the Presse." (Col. Rec. Conn. III. 484.) He laid it aside, to translate, at the suggestion of Boyle, *The Practice of Piety*, and it remained twenty-five years in manuscript. This was the last of Eliot's translations which was printed in his life-time.

AAS. GB.

1691. *Nashauanittue Meninnunk* WUTCH MUKKIESOG, Wussesemumun wutch Sogkoddunganash Naneeswe TESTAMENTSASH; WUTCH Ukkesitchippaonganoo Ukketeahogko-unoooh. Negonâe wussukhûmun ut Englishmânne Unnon-

toowaonganit, nashpe ne ánué, wunnegenùe Nohtompeantog, Noh áscowèsit JOHN COTTON. Kah yeuyeu qushkinnúmun en *Indiane* Unnontowaonganit wutch onenehikqunàout INDIANE MUKKIESOG, Nashpe GRINDAL RAWSON. Wunnaunchemookáe Nohtompeantog ut kenugke INDIANOG. — *Onatuh mishketuog* [etc. 2 lines]. 1 Pet. 2. 2. — CAMBRIDGE: Prin-teucoop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Bartholomew Green*. 1691. sm. 8vo.

[*Translation*: Spiritual Milk for Babes, drawn from the Breasts of both Testaments, for the Nourishment of their Souls. Formerly written in English language, by that most excellent Minister who is named John Cotton, and now turned into Indian language for the benefit of Indian Children, by Grindal Rawson, Minister of the Gospel among the Indians.]

18 pages (and 8 blank pages). Some copies were bound with *The Sincere Convert*. AAS. GB.

PRINTED IN BOSTON.

1698. Masukkenukéeg MATCHESAEENVOG WEQUETOOG kah WUTTOOANATOOG Uppeyaonont CHRISTOH kah ne YEUYEU TEANUK Wonk, aliche nunnukquodt missinninnuh ukquoh-quenaount wutaiuskoianatamooonganoo. Kah Keketookaonk papaume WUSSITTUMWAE kesukodtum: kah papaume nawhutch onkatogeh Wunnomwayeuongash. — Nashpe INCREASE MATHER. Kukkootomwehteauenh ut oomoeuwelkomonganit ut *Bostonut*, ut *New-England*. — *Eccles.* 12. 13. [and *Acts* 20. 21; six lines.] — Yeush kukkookootomwelhteangash qushkinnumunash en *Indiane* unnontowaonganit nashpe S. D. — *Bostonut*, Printeuoop nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, kah *John Allen*. 1698. sm. 8vo, pp. 164.

[*Translation*: Greatest Sinners called and encouraged to come to Christ, and that Now, quickly. Also, that it is very dangerous for people to delay their repentance, And a Discourse concerning the Judgment Day; and concerning some other Truths. By Increase Mather, Teacher of the Church in Boston These Discourses are translated into Indian language by S. D.]

Five Sermons of Increase Mather's, translated by Samuel Danforth, who subscribes "The Epistle Dedicatory" to the Author, from Taunton, 14th, 8, 1698. The last sermon ends on page 162. A "Postscript," pp. 163, 164, certifies to the success of Experience Mayhew's labors among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard.

The first Indian book known to have been printed after the removal of the press to Boston. GB.

1699. A CONFESSIO OF FAITH Owned & consented unto by the Elders & Messengers of the Churches Assembled at *Boston* in *New-England*, May 12. 1680. Being the Second Session of that SYNOD.—Eph. 4. 5 [and Col. 2. 5 ; 3 lines].—BOSTON. Re-printed by *Bartholomew Green*, and *John Allen*. 1699.

Wunnamptamoe SAMPOOANOK Wussampooowontamun Nashpe moeuwehkomunganash ut *New-England*. Qushkenumun en *Indiane* Unnontowaonganit.—Nashpe *Grindal Rawson*, &c. MUSHAUWOMUK. Printeuun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, kah *John Allen*. 1699. 16mo.

8 prel. leaves, n. n. ; pp. 161, and 4 n. n. English title, on verso of first leaf, facing Indian title, on recto of second leaf ; both within borders of printer's marks. "The Epistle Dedicatory," to Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, is dated Nov. 4, 1699. The Confession, and Table of Chapters (at the end of the volume,) have the Indian and English on opposite pages. AAS. MHS. Pr. Libr. GB.

1700. Wussukwhonk En Christianeue asuh peantamwae INDIANOG, Wahteauwaheonaount Teanteaquassinash, Nish ENGLISHMANSOG Kodtantamwog *Indianog* Wahteaunate kah Ussenate, En michemolhtae Wunniyeuonganit.—Wussukwhosik nashpe *Cotton Mather*, Englishmanne *Nohtompeantog*, nampoohamunate kodtantamoonk *Edward Bromfield* Englishmaune *Nanawunnuaenuh*, noh ukkodaninnumau yeu womoausue Magooonk en Indiansut.—MVSHAVWOMVK, Printeuun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, kah *John Allen*, 1700.

AN EPISTLE to the Christian [or praying] INDIANS, Giving them A Short Account, of what the ENGLISH Desire them to know and to do, in order to their Happiness.—Written by [Cotton Mather] an English *Minister*, at the Desire of [Edward Bromfield] an English *Magistrate*, who sends unto them this Token of Love.—BOSTON, Printed by *Bartholomew Green*, and *John Allen*.—1700.

One sheet 16mo ; the page numbers doubled. Indian title on verso of first leaf ; English, on recto of second leaf, the verso of which is page 1 of the Indian text, with page 1 of the English, opposite. Ends on (double) page 14. Sec, after, 1700.
NYUS. S. M. L. Barlow, New York. GB.

1705. The Hatchets, to hew down the Tree of Sin, which bears the Fruit of Death, or, The LAWS, by which the Magistrates are to punish Offenders, among the *Indians*, as well as among the *English*.

Togkunkash, tummethamunate Matcheseongane mehtug, ne meechumuoo Nuppoook. ASUH, Wunnaumatuongash, nish nashpe Nananuacheeg kusnunt sasamatahamwog matcheseongash ut kenugke *Indiansog* netatuppe onk ut kenugke Englishmansog. (asuh Chohkquog.)

One sheet, sm. 8vo. On the first page, the double title, as above, and an introduction to the Laws, beginning: "The Laws are now to be declared, O Indians," etc. This introduction and each of the twenty laws are followed, in order, by the Indian translation. At the end, on p. 15, are two paragraphs of admonition, and on the lower half of the page, between single rules, is the colophon: BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*. 1705." AAS. GB.

1706. Wussukwhonk en Christianeue asuh peantamwae INDIANOG, [etc.] MUSHATWOMUK, Printeun nashpe *Bartholomew Green*, 1706.

A second edition, or the first with change of title-page, of C. Mather's "Epistle to the Christian Indians." See, before, under 1700. MHS. GB.

1707. *Ne Kesukod Jehovah kessehtunkup*.—KEKUTTOOH-KAONK Papaume KUHQUUTTUMMOONK Ukkesukodum LORD. Mussolhomunnap Monuppeantamoonkanut ut *Boston*. 4 Kesukod 1. Nupauz, 1703.—Nashpe noh qultiantamwe Kulkootumwehteaenin assoowesit, COTTON MATHER.—Kah woh OOneunnehqunnaout *Indiansog*, Ukquishkunnun en wuttunnonttoowaonkannoowout EXPERIENCE MAYHEW.—*Chrysostom*. [Quotation, six lines.]—*Boston, N. E.* Up-Printhamun *B. Green*. 1707.

The Day which the LORD hath made. A DISCOURSE concerning The INSTITUTION AND OBSERVATION OF THE *Lord's-Day*.—Delivered in a Lecture, at *Boston*, 4 d. 1 m. 1703.—*Chrysostom*. [Quotation, four lines.]—*Boston, N. E.* Reprinted by *B. Green*. 1707.

Sm. 8vo. Indian title on verso of first leaf, opposite English title on recto of second leaf. Text begins, Indian on verso of second leaf, and English opposite (A3, recto), each paged 1. Page numbers doubled. The Discourse ends on p. 36 (recto of K2). On

verso of K2 and recto of K3 is "*Nohwutche nekone Chapter JOHN.*" "Some part of the first Chapter of JOHN [Inserted in these Supernumerary Pages, for the more special Meditation of the Indian Readers.]" This ends on recto of K4: verso, blank.

The original Discourse was first printed, Boston, 1703. This translation, "to do good to the Indians," was made, as the Indian title shows, by *Experience Mayhew*. AAS. MHS. GB. GL.

1707. Another Tongue brought in, to Confess the Great Saviour of the World. Or, Some Communications of Christianity, put into a Tongue used among the Iroquois Indians in America. And Put into the Hands of the English and the Dutch Traders. To accommodate the Great Intention of Communicating the Christian Religion unto the Salvages among whom they may find anything of this Language to be Intelligible. BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*. 1707. 16 mo, 16 pp.

This book is named in the list of Cotton Mather's publications, which is appended to his *Life* by Samuel Mather. It contains "sentences in relation to God, Jesus Christ, and the Trinity, in the Iroquois, Latin, English and Dutch languages." The only perfect copy known to the compiler is in the library of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., from whose (privately-printed) Catalogue the above title is taken. There is a copy, wanting the title page, in the library of the New York Historical Society.

Why this, the first book in the language of the Five Nations, was printed at Boston instead of New York—or by whom the translation was made—Mather does not inform us. It may, with much probability, be conjectured that the copy was furnished by the Rev. THOROWGOOD MOOR, who was sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1704, to labor for the conversion of the Mohawks. He remained nearly a year at Albany, and visited the Mohawks at their "Castle," but could not obtain their consent to his establishment of a mission among them. Before November, 1705, he returned to New York, and shortly afterwards went to Burlington, N. J., to supply the place of the Rev. John Talbot (another missionary of the Society). Here, Mr. Moor gave offence by refusing to admit the Lieutenant Governor (Ingoldsby) to the Lord's Supper, and was punished by imprisonment. Having contrived to escape, he fled to *Boston*, and in November, 1707, took passage for England, from Marblehead. The vessel, with all on board, was lost at sea (O'Callaghan's Note, in N. Y. Documents, iv. 1077). Mr. Talbot on his return from England had met Mr. Moor in Boston and tried to induce him to go back to New York, but "poor Thorowgood said he had rather be taken into France than into the Fort at New York."

While at Albany, Mr. Moor must have had opportunity to learn something of the Mohawk language, from Laurence Claessen, the provincial interpreter, who had been a prisoner among the Iroquois, "and understood their language sufficiently," and from the Rev. Bernardus Freeman, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Schenectady, who "had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont in the year 1700, to convert the Indians," and "had a good

knowledge of the dialect of the Mohawks" (Humphreys' Hist. Account, 299, 302). When the Rev. William Andrews began his mission work among the Five Nations in 1710, Mr. Claessen served as his interpreter; and Mr. Freeman (who meanwhile had removed to Brooklyn) gave the Society copies of the translations he had made of the English liturgy and select portions of Scripture—from which a Mohawk prayer-book was printed at New York (Id. 299, 302). This "very worthy Calvinist minister" (as Humphreys characterizes him) may have previously given Mr. Moor a copy of—or assisted him to translate—this little manual. Mather would be glad to promote its publication, and not disinclined to receive whatever credit he was entitled to for the work. And as Moor, while in Boston in 1707, was a fugitive from Lord Cornbury's jurisdiction, there was reason enough—the relation of Massachusetts to New York, considered,—for omitting to mention the author's name on the title page or in connection with the work.

1709. *Massachusee* PSALTER: Asuh, Uk-kuttoohomaongash DAVID weche WUNNAUNCHEMOOKAONK Ne ansukhogup JOHN, Ut *Indiane* kah *Englishe* Nepatuhquonkash. Ne woh sogkompagunukhettit Kakoketahteakuppannegk, aketa-munnat, kah wohwohtamunat Wunnetuppantamwe Wussuk-whongash. — John v. 39. [4 lines quoted]. — BOSTON, N. E. Upprinthomunneau *B. Green*, kah *J. Printer*, wutche quhtiantamwe CHAPANUKKEG wutche onchekehtouunnat wunnaunchummookaonk ut *New-England*. &c. 1709.

The *Massachuset* PSALTER: or, PSALMS of DAVID With the GOSPEL According to JOHN. In Columns of *Indian* and *English*. BEING An Introduction for Training up the Aboriginal Natives, in Reading and Understanding the HOLY SCRIPTURES. *Boston, N. E.* Printed by *B. Green*, and *J. Printer*, for the Honourable COMPANY for the Propagation of the Gospel in *New-England*, &c. 1709. 8vo.

The Indian title on verso of first leaf: the English, opposite. Each title enclosed by single rules. Signatures in fours, A-Eee. "The Book of Psalms" begins on A3; Indian and English on the same page, in columns divided by a rule; ends on verso of Pp. 4. "The Gospel according to John" begins on Qq 1, ends on Eee 3; and on verso of Eee 3 are six lines of *Errata*. The last leaf, blank. The type of the Indian version was changed at the 146th Psalm, from bourgeois to brevier, and the smaller type was used through the rest of the volume.

Next to Eliot's Bible, this is the most important monument of the *Massachuset* language. The translation was made by the Rev. Experience Mayhew. "The Indian language has been from his infancy

natural to him," says Prince, "and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest Masters of it that has been known among us" (Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, p. 307). His version has some of the peculiarities of the dialect of Martha's Vineyard, with which Mr. Mayhew was most familiar, but in literal accuracy and its observance of the requirements of Indian grammar it perhaps surpasses even Eliot's. The employment of *James* (the Indian) Printer on the work is an additional guaranty of the faithfulness of the version. See Thomas, i. 290-293. AAS. MHS. JL. GB.

1710. Oggussunash Kuttoonkash [etc.] "A few words addressed to the poor condemned murderers Josiah and Joseph, in their own language; at Bristol, October 12, 1709, on the day when their sentence was executed."

Appended to the Sermon preached on that occasion by Rev. Samuel Danforth, entitled, "The Woful Effects of Drunkenness." Boston, 1710. The address in the Indian language is on pages 43-52. GB.

[17—? Experience Mayhew, in a notice of an Indian convert who died at Martha's Vineyard, in 1717, says: "Mr. Perkins's *Six Principles of Religion*, having been translated into the Indian tongue, was what she took great delight in reading." (*Indian Converts*, p. 168.) No copy of this translation has been discovered, and it is not certain, from Mayhew's mention of it, that it was *printed*.]

1714. Family Religion Excited, and Assisted. By Doctor COTTON MATHER.

Teashshinninneongane Peantamooonk Wogkouunumun kah Anunumwontamun. Nashpe Doctor COTTON MATHER.

16 mo, pp. 20, 20, the first and last blank. No separate title page. The English title is at the head of the verso of the first leaf, and the Indian is opposite, on recto of A2, page 1. The page numbers are doubled, 1-19. On pp. 18, 19, are the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and below (on p. 19) the colophon: "BOSTON: Printed by B. Green. 1714." and opposite, "Bostunut: Printeunap nashpe B. Green. 1714."

AAS. GB. NYHS.

1720.—INDIANE PRIMER ASUH NEGONNEYEUK. Ne nashpe Mukkiesog Wohtanog wunnamuhkuttie ogketamunnate Indiane Unnontoowaonk. Kah Meninnunk wutch Mukkiesog. — *Mushawwomuk*: Printeun nashpe B. Green. 1720.

The INDIAN PRIMER OR THE FIRST BOOK. By which Children may know truly to read the Indian Language. And

Milk for Babes.—*Boston*: Printed by *B. Green*. 1720. sm. 12mo, pp. 84, (165).

The titles on opposite pages, each within a border of printer's ornaments. Signatures in sixes, the page numbers doubled, Indian and English opposite, throughout. On the recto of the first leaf is a wood (or type-metal) cut of the Massachusetts seal, and on the verso of the last leaf, a ship, with the name "ROYALL CHARLES."

On the verso of the 2d leaf (English title) are Scripture texts: on pp. 5, 6, 7, the alphabet, large and small, roman and italic; easy syllables, &c.; and these are continued on (sig. B) pp. 7-13, in words of two, three, and so on to *thirteen* syllables: The Lord's Prayer, (p. 13) expounded in question and answer (pp. 13-18); "The Christian Belief" &c. [Apostles' Creed], with "questions and answers concerning Christian Doctrine" (pp. 18-29); John Cotton's "Milk for Babes," with Grindal Rawson's translation (pp. 30-46); a baptismal Covenant (46, 47); &c., &c. Ends, with FINIS, on (double) page 84.

This is another—and probably the last—edition of Elliot's Indian Primer (see before, s. a. 1669, 1685), with the addition of Grindal Rawson's version of Cotton's "Milk for Babes" (see s. a. 1691). Copies are preserved in the libraries of Mr. Geo. Brinley, Mr. J. H. Trumbull, the Prince Library, and the British Museum (Grenville Collection). It was described, and in part reprinted, from an imperfect copy, by Dr. John Pickering, in the appendix to Cotton's Vocabulary, 3 Mass. Hist. Collections, ii. 244-249.

17—? [A Monitor for Communicants. By Cotton Mather.]

Mather, in his discourse entitled *India Christina* (p. 32), mentions this among the books which had been added to the "Indian Library." The Indian translation must have been printed between 1714 and 1721. No copy has been found. The (English) title appears in the list of Mather's publications, under the year 1714.

1721. *India Christiana*. A Discourse unto the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians. With Instruments relating to Propagating our Religion, in the Eastern as well as the Western, Indies. By COTTON MATHER. Boston, 1721. 16 mo.

pp. (2), ii. 94. In the appended *Notitia Indiarum*, second part, entitled "*Verus Christianismus*, or, the Sum of the Christianity, taught unto the Indians," Mather gives, in Indian and English on opposite pages (52-55, doubled), "this ensuing instrument, that the more curious may have a taste of the language,"—"WAME wunetoog WCKETOMPAOG pasukquinnineaout ut yeunnag peantam-weseongash." "The RELIGION, which ALL Good Men are united in." The Indian version shows Mather's knowledge of the language to have been only superficial. His title, for example, literally translated, would read: "All they-are-good men to-unite-themselves in (animate) religious-acts."

AAS. GB. MHS. Harv. Univ. Pr. Libr.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE librarian begs leave to report that the condition of affairs under his immediate charge has, since the last meeting, been not less favorable than usual to the general interests of the Society and the growth of its collections. The accessions do not vary materially from the customary increase in number or quality. The fact that our accumulations press with additional severity upon our means of accommodation, though it may be mentioned as an inconvenience, certainly furnishes no ground for complaint, and only claims a prominent and conspicuous place in the schedule of our wants.

Not only the value but the variety of matters received and procured has been well maintained. Among the authors whose personal productions have come to the library, eleven are members of the society; including the President, the Treasurer, Messrs. J. H. Trumbull, Isaac Smucker, Charles Hudson, Pliny E. Chase, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Deane, James F. Hunnewell, Charles Whittlesey, and William C. Endicott. The contributions from Hon. Charles Hudson and Judge Endicott are not publications, and are therefore special in their nature and classification. From the first we have in manuscript a memoir upon the character and services of George Nixon Briggs, sometime Governor of this

Commonwealth; to be preserved with the manuscript memoirs of Governors John Davis and Levi Lincoln, before prepared by him. From the last we have the report and briefs of counsel in the case of the City of Lynn against the Inhabitants of Nahant, argued by him on behalf of the defendants, before the Supreme Court, in the County of Essex, in November, 1872. The case involves some very interesting questions relating to the tenure of lands held by towns under the general laws of the Colony at its earliest period. The questions raised by the defendants were new, and opposed to the commonly received opinion that towns hold the fee of the land within their limits by reason of their incorporation or existence as towns.

Since this document came into our possession the court has announced its decision, sustaining the views of the counsel for the defense, who now sits as judge on the same distinguished bench.

Judge Endicott has also given to the library a very fine copy of the original portrait of his ancestor, John Endicott, the first governor of the Massachusetts Colony, as Winthrop was the first governor of the Company and Colony combined; which will be an object of notice to-day, and of comparison with the rude picture of the same already on our walls.

Among the general gifts to the library is a manuscript contribution from Mr. Thomas E. Sawin, of Wendell, Mass. It is the work almost of a lifetime in collecting and compiling materials for a history of that town. The author, on account of advanced age and consequent infirmity, deposits with us the fruits of much pains-taking labor, for use at some future period when circumstances may be favorable to their publication.

The record of accessions herewith exhibited will show that History and Genealogy are well represented in the list of donations. We have received a manuscript *communication* having relation to subjects discussed by Col. John D. Washburn, in his report to the Society, in behalf of the Council, in April, 1872. It is entitled "a Memorandum as to the discovery of the bay of San Francisco, by John T. Doyle," and it is hoped that Col. Washburn will explain its purport and purpose as fully as, from its nature and the circumstances, is certainly desirable. Mr. Doyle has, at the same time, kindly presented a curious document called a "Brief History of the 'Pious Fund' of California," of which only fifty copies were printed for him.

The Great West (so called), especially its region towards the Pacific ocean, continues to be the prolific source of archaeological discoveries belonging to extreme antiquity. A letter received from Mr. Alexander S. Taylor, of Santa Barbara, California, seems to make it necessary to qualify a statement made on other authority in the last librarian's report respecting the scarcity of pottery and stone implements in that State, or to restrict its application to a more limited district. He assures us that the California side of the Colorado River Valley contains a good deal of broken pottery, and that the shell mounds, of which there are thousands between Panama and Alaska, all have in them stone implements of various kinds. Mr. Taylor says, moreover, that the stone tubes, about whose use there has been much speculation, are employed by the natives for blowing tobacco smoke upon the sick. The question naturally occurs why they should be at the pains to make these instruments of stone when a reed would serve the purpose as well?

When the results of the government explorations, under Prof. Hayden, shall have been collated and officially published—if we may judge from the partial reports that have appeared occasionally—the amount of archæological and palæontological information obtained will be of a most astonishing character. In the department of natural history portions of Colorado are said to have yielded to Prof. Cope, of Dr. Hayden's party, very extraordinary and hardly credible discoveries. We are, at least, compelled to believe that too much attention cannot be bestowed upon those interesting regions as sources of new and important light upon the condition of the world in the far distant periods of its existence.

In reference to the rapid disappearance of the races that have been known to us as aboriginal inhabitants, Rev. Mr. Waterston dwelt at our last meeting on the importance of procuring photographs of persons, and places of interest, connected with these decaying peoples. The present time appeared to him to afford some favorable opportunities growing out of missionary arrangements, and he offered his personal aid and services towards the accomplishment of the object. Mr. Waterston and your librarian were appointed a committee, with power to take such action in behalf of the society as they should think best.

The committee as yet have had no conference on the subject, and therefore no joint proceedings have been undertaken; but the librarian is able to say that circumstances, partly accidental, are promising, in a very satisfactory degree, to fulfil the objects of their appointment. A public spirited gentleman of this city of Worcester, Mr. S. R. Heywood, having business connections at the far West, himself sug-

gested the expediency of collecting the portraits of prominent Indians, from negatives which he knew to be in possession of photographers there. • He has recently started, in person, expecting to go as far as Pike's Peak, and has been desired to follow out his own suggestions in gathering all that come within his reach. When these are received, and their nature and extent are ascertained, the committee will be prepared for further action under the lead of the proposer of the movement.

In the meantime, some of our liberal members in Worcester contributed the sum of one hundred and fifty dollars, to procure the magnificent photographs recently taken of prehistoric remains in the British Museum, illustrating the Palæolithic, Neolithic, and other unrecorded periods, of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. These have already arrived at the library, and cannot fail to elicit the admiration of every observer for their perfect representation of the most delicate features of each particular object. In some respects, as subjects of study, they afford superior advantages to the original articles, from the combined and associated manner in which they are brought before the eye; especially when aided by a few real specimens of the same character. They furnish facilities for such a comparison of forms and uses among the stone implements of different countries, as our associate, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., once intended to institute, but was deterred by the want of samples; and such as was partially attempted in the last librarian's report.

It may be anticipated that this department of photographic illustration will become of great importance and interest. We find among our recent gifts the photograph of a

stone pipe with a human head carved upon it, from a mound on the Black Warrior river in Carthage, in the State of Alabama, sent to us by Mr. W. S. Wyman, of the University of Alabama, at Tuscaloosa. Mr. Wyman has been investigating the history of the inscribed piece of rock commonly called "the Alabama Stone," now in our cabinet, and may be able to furnish facts possibly connecting it with the expedition of De Soto. He says in his letter :

"I shall be able, in a short time, I trust, to furnish the Antiquarian Society with a full account of the discovery of this stone. There are yet living in this vicinity aged persons who remember the circumstances of the finding, locality, &c. I have accounts of the matter taken at second hand ; but I prefer to get the story from the old persons now living, who saw the stone soon after its discovery.

When I learn all that is to be learned in the matter, I shall write an account of the facts, and forward it to you, to be deposited in the archives of the Antiquarian Society."

"It is the purpose of Mr. N. T. Lupton, President of this University, and myself, to make an excavation of the largest of these mounds sometime during the coming summer. If we discover anything worth mention, I will send you an account of our work, with specimens of the relics, &c."

We have also a photograph of a Ute chief, bearing the ambitious name or title of "The Sun at noon day" from Dr. Rufus Woodward, of Worcester. And we have a photograph of an Indian pictorial inscription, existing at Machiasport, in Maine, which is remarkable, considering its locality, for its resemblance in the form and arrangement of its figures to some of the most striking memorials of the kind found at the West, and apparently indicating connection or kinship with those distant tribes. It came to us from Mr. George J. Varney, of Brunswick, Me., who compliments

the learning and ability of the Society by asking for an interpretation of its meaning.

Another gift, belonging to the same class of illustrations, is a copy of Darley's sketches of scenes in Indian life, for which we are indebted to Mrs. Penelope Canfield, of Worcester.

Seventeen stone implements have been presented by Mr. Samuel H. Putnam, of this city, and one by Mr. Horace Davis, of California.

Thus it will be seen that, in this division, the collections of the last six months have been considerable in number and value.

Our accessions are classed under the heads of *Gifts*, *Exchanges*, *Purchases*, and books (chiefly newspapers) that have been made up for the binder from unbound materials. Our exchanges are virtually purchases, inasmuch as a price is set upon our duplicates and they are used to buy with as really as if they were bank bills. The totality comprises seven hundred and fifteen Books, two thousand three hundred and forty-six Pamphlets, one hundred and thirty volumes of Newspapers, fifty-four Lithographs, one hundred and sixty-six Photographs, seven Maps, eighteen Indian Implements, and three Autographs. These are chiefly gifts. The proceeds of exchanges and purchases are one hundred and twenty-three Books, three hundred and seventy-three Pamphlets, nineteen volumes of Newspapers, one hundred and fifty-seven Photographs. One hundred and sixty-one volumes of Books have been bound.

S. F. HAVEN,
Librarian.

Donors and Donations.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, Worcester. — His essay on the Star Spangled Banner and National Songs, with additional Notes and Songs; Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. 1, 1642-1658; one book; thirty-six pamphlets; and five files of newspapers.

Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, Hartford, Ct. — His "Notes on Forty Algonkin Versions of the Lord's Prayer"; and his "Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut, 1639-1818."

ISAAC SMUCKEIL, Esq., Newark, O. — His article on "The Lewis's, the Hero-Statesmen Brothers"; his paper on the "Great Awakening" at the West, in the Summer of 1799; Pioneer Historical Papers, numbers 104 and 105; two pamphlets; and various historical articles in newspapers.

Prof. PLINY EARLE CHASE, Philadelphia, Pa. — His Cosmical and Molecular Harmonies, illustrating the equal Action and Reaction of Elastic Forces.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., Charlestown. — A reprint of Spelman's Relation of Virginia, with an Introduction by Mr. Hunnewell.

Hon. CHARLES HUDSON, Lexington. — His Manuscript Biography of Hon. George Nixon Briggs.

CHARLES DEANE, Esq., Cambridge. — His "Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter," "General Washington's Head-Quarters in Cambridge"; and a reprint of the first edition of Smith's "New England's Trials," with Prefatory Note by Mr. Deane.

Col. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, Cleveland, O. — His "Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio"; his paper on "Archæological Frauds"; and six historical pamphlets.

Hon. WM. C. ENDICOTT, Salem. — The briefs, etc., in the case of the City of Lynn against the Inhabitants of Nahant, argued before the Supreme Judicial Court, Jan. 11, 1873, Mr. Endicott counsel for the defendants; and a fine copy of an original portrait of Gov. Endicott.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Boston. — His address as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, with the report of the General Agent for the year 1872-3; and the report of the Trustees of the Peabody Donation Fund, London, for the year 1872.

- MR. THOMAS E. SAWIN, Wendell. — Materials which he has collected for a History of the Town of Wendell, Mass.
- EDWIN M. SNOW, M. D.; Providence, R. I. — His report upon the Births, Marriages and Deaths in the City of Providence, for the year 1871.
- MRS. CAROLINE H. DALL, Boston. — Her "Genealogical Notes and Errata."
- GEORGE E. CHAMBERS, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa. — His report as Registrar of the Board of Health of the City of Philadelphia, during the year 1872.
- HON. CLINTON L. MERRIAM, New York. — His Speech in the House of Representatives, March 1, 1873.
- REV. DANIEL LEACH, Providence, R. I. — His Report as Superintendent of Public Schools, for the year 1873.
- MR. WILLIAM H. DALL, Washington, D. C. — His paper on "Some peculiarities of the Eskimo Dialect."
- MAJOR ALBERT H. HOYT, Boston — His Sketch of the life of Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D.; and one pamphlet.
- HON. LUCIUS E. CHITTENDEN, New York. — His address upon the Capture of Ticonderoga, delivered before the Vermont Historical Society Oct. 8, 1872.
- MR. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, Boston. — His essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts, settled prior to A. D. 1775, with an essay on the Name of the Town of Lexington.
- REV. GEORGE A. LATIMER, Wilmington, Del. — His Sketch of the life of Oliver Evans, a remarkable mechanic and inventor.
- MR. EDWARD E. ATWATER, New Haven, Conn. — His Genealogical Register of the descendants, in the male line, of David Atwater, one of the original planters of New Haven, Conn.
- REV. AUGUSTINE CALDWELL, Shrewsbury. — His Caldwell Records, Proof Sheet No. 2.
- MR. F. W. PUTNAM, Salem. — His Account of Mounds at Merom and Hutsonville on the Wabash; his description of a few Stone Knives, found in Essex County, Massachusetts; and his description of ancient Indian carvings, found in Ipswich, Mass.
- REV. JOHN A. VINTON, Winchester. — His Symmes Memorial.
- CHAUNCEY K. WILLIAMS, Esq., Rutland, Vt. — An account of the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Rutland, Vermont, compiled by Mr. Williams.
- MR. R. E. C. STEARNS, San Francisco, Cal. — His article on Aboriginal Shell Money.
- MR. HENRY PROBASCO, Cincinnati, O. — The Catalogue of his Collection of Books, Manuscripts and Works of Art, with an Introductory Note by Mr. Probasco.

- MR. LUTHER P. HUBBARD**, New York. — His Descendants of George Hubbard, from 1600 to 1872; and an account of the annual meeting of the New England Society in the City of New York, Dec. 23, 1872.
- SAMUEL A. FOOT, LL.D.**, Geneva, N. Y. — His Autobiography, Collateral Reminiscences, Arguments in Important Causes, Speeches, Addresses, Lectures, and other Writings, in 2 vols.
- Prof. JOSEPH LOVERING**, Cambridge. — His "Notice of Herschel," and Communications on "Sympathetic Vibration, as exhibited in ordinary machinery," on the "Determination of Transatlantic Longitude, by means of the Telegraphic Cables," and on "French Calendars."
- JOHN T. DOYLE, Esq.**, San Francisco, Cal. — His Brief History of the "Pious Fund" of California; and Memorandum concerning the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco.
- WILLIAM LAWTON, Esq.**, New Rochelle, N. Y. — Eleven books; two hundred and seven pamphlets; five maps; four lithographs; and illustrated newspapers in numbers.
- Messrs. OROUT & PUTNAM**, Worcester. — Fifty-two books; three pamphlets; and one wood cut.
- EDWARD W. LINCOLN, Esq.**, Worcester. — Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, 12 vols.; and Benton's Debates of Congress, 9 vols.
- Rev. SAMUEL MAY**, Leicester. — Thirty Pamphlets; "The Liberal Christian" for 1872; and various newspapers, handbills, and circulars.
- Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR**, Worcester. — Eleven books; one hundred and twenty-four pamphlets; one map; one lithograph; and newspapers in numbers.
- Hon. DANIEL WALDO LINCOLN**, Worcester. — Fourteen books; fifty-three pamphlets; parcels of the "Christian Register," 1853-72; and numbers of the "National Ægis" for the year 1816.
- Mr. WILLIAM LAWRENCE**, Paxton. — A specimen of ancient wall paper, taken from the Meade House, near Barrack Hill, Rutland, Mass.
- SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq.**, Boston. — A fine photograph of Michael Angelo's statue of Moses, richly framed.
- Hon. ISAAC DAVIS**, Worcester. — Twenty books; and a lithograph of the Old Worcester House.
- Mr. SAMUEL H. RIDDEL**, Tamworth, N. H. — A collection of manuscript Sermons, by Rev. Samuel Austin, D.D.; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. EBENEZER TORREY**, Fitchburg. — "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk"; and forty-eight numbers of the Eclectic Magazine.
- Hon. FRANCIS H. DEWEY**, Worcester. — Four books; two hundred and sixty nine pamphlets; two maps; and various newspapers.
- Rev. WM. HENRY BROOKS**, Hanover. — Two pamphlets.

Mrs. P. S. L. CANFIELD, Worcester. — Darley's Scenes in Indian Life, 5 numbers.

Mr. ELBRIDGE H. GOSS, Melrose. — Three pamphlets.

GEORGE HANNAH, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y. — The Trip of the Steamer Oceanus to Fort Sumter and Charleston, S. C., in 1865; and The Battle of Brooklyn, a farce in two acts.

Rev. CALEB DAVIS BRADLEE, Boston. — Seven pamphlets.

JOEL MUNSELL, Esq., Albany, N. Y. — Ten pamphlets.

CHARLES B. WHITING, Esq., Worcester. — Four pamphlets.

WILLIAM CROSS, Esq., Worcester. — Twenty pamphlets; and a large collection of financial broadsides and circulars.

ROBERT CLARKE, Esq., Cincinnati, O. — The Sixth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland; Anti-Slavery Opinions before 1800; and one pamphlet.

ALEXANDER S. TAYLOR, Esq., Santa Barbara, Cal. — Proceedings of the California Academy of Science, vols. 2 and 8; and two valuable pamphlets.

GEORGE CHANDLER, M.D., Worcester. — Eight pamphlets; and two maps.

ISAAC F. WOOD, Esq., New York. — A collection of early circulars.

HORACE DAVIS, Esq., San Francisco, Cal. — Ten pamphlets; sixteen numbers of the Overland Monthly; and a California arrow head.

Mrs. J. H. GEROULD, Worcester. — Thirteen pamphlets.

Mr. J. F. D. GARFIELD, Fitchburg. — Ten pamphlets; and two broadsides.

THOMAS H. GAGE, M.D., Worcester. — Three pamphlets.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D., Boston. — One book; and thirty-three pamphlets.

Hon. JOHN MILTON EARLE, Worcester. — One book; and twenty-three pamphlets.

Mr. J. G. SMITH, Worcester. — Ninety-two pamphlets; and thirty-eight engravings.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr., Esq., Worcester. — Thirty-two pamphlets.

J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., Boston. — A fac-simile of the Indian Deed of Bridgewater; and five pamphlets.

Mr. MELVIN LORD, Boston. — The Massachusetts Registers of 1815 and 1816; an Autograph of Prof. J. W. Webster; and six lottery tickets of ancient date.

- NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Worcester.** — Harper's Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion, in thirty-five numbers; two books; seventy-six pamphlets; eleven engravings; one photograph; one manuscript sermon; one early broadside; the Christian Union in continuation; reprints of the first number of the Massachusetts Spy; a parcel of the Graphic; and newspapers in numbers.
- Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, Worcester.** — Six bound volumes of library catalogues.
- Miss ADA J. PUTNAM, Worcester.** — Forty-two miscellaneous books; and twenty pamphlets.
- Mr. GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, Poinfret, Ct.** — Six books; thirty-two pamphlets; and two maps.
- Rev. GEORGE ALLEN, Worcester.** — Five books; twenty-two pamphlets; the Palladium for 1872; and various newspapers.
- Mr. CALEB B. METCALF, Worcester.** — Eight books; fifty pamphlets; and parcels of the Christian Union and N. Y. Independent.
- JAMES H. SALISBURY, M.D., Cleveland, O.** — Two volumes with maps, relating to the Geological Survey of Ohio; and the Sixth Annual Report of the Ohio Commissioners of Railroads and Telegraphs.
- Mrs. LOT JONES, New York City.** — A German Psalter, printed in 1504; and an early Psalm book.
- Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. S.** — Eleven volumes U. S. Public Documents; and two pamphlets.
- Mr. GEORGE O. BRIGHAM, Westborough.** — Two books of early date.
- Mr. SAMUEL H. PUTNAM, Worcester.** — Seventeen Indian stone implements from Groveport, O.; and one specimen of Stalactite.
- Mrs. JOHN CLAPP, Leicester.** — The Massachusetts Magazine for 1789.
- Hon. P. EMORY ALDRICH, Worcester.** — The Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts.
- Prof. EDWARD NORTH, Clinton, N. Y.** — History of the Perry H. Smith Library Hall.
- E. F. DUREN, Esq., Bangor, Me.** — Reports of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine, and Maine Missionary Society.
- Mr. S. M. GRIGGS, Westborough.** — One book; and two pamphlets of early date.
- The ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.** — Forty-three pamphlets; one engraving; and one photograph.
- Mr. CHARLES E. SANFORD, Worcester.** — Fac-similes of Lord Byron's hand writing.
- Hon. THOMAS H. WYNNE, Richmond, Va.** — One pamphlet.
- GEORGE SHELDON, Esq., Greenfield.** — An account of the Memorial Meeting in Sunderland.

- Rev. SETH SWEETSER, D.D., Worcester. — Thirty-four pamphlets; two Proclamations; and various newspapers.
- Mr. A. N. FAIRBANKS, Worcester. — The Catalogue of Worcester Academy, 1872-3; and the "New Academy," numbers 1 and 2.
- Mr. GEORGE J. VARNEY, Brunswick, Me. — A photograph of an Indian inscription at Machiasport, Me.
- Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, Boston. — Proceedings at the laying of the corner-stone of the Standish Monument, on Captain's Hill, Duxbury.
- WILLIAM S. BARTON, Esq., Worcester — Reports of the Auditor and Treasurer of Worcester for 1872.
- RUFUS WOODWARD, M.D., Worcester. — His manuscript record of Exemptions; a volume of early maps; an ancient book; and a photograph of a Ute Chief.
- HENRY GRIFFIN, Esq., Worcester. — A history of the Press of Maine.
- Prof. J. C. DALTON, M.D., New York City. — A memorial of E. B. Dalton, M. D.
- Mr. LUCIUS P. GODDARD, Worcester. — Cotton Mather's "India Christiana."
- Mr. W. S. WYMAN, Tuscaloosa, Ala. — Two photographs of a stone pipe, found at a group of mounds on the Black Warrior river, near Carthage, Hale County, Alabama.
- JAMES BENNETT, Esq., Leominster. — The first number of the Leominster Enterprise.
- SAMUEL SMITH, Esq., City Clerk, Worcester. — Worcester City Document, 1873.
- Brig. Gen. A. A. HUMPHREY, U. S. A. — Reports on the Construction of the Potomac Aqueduct of the Alexandria Canal.
- H. F. PHINNEY, Esq., Cooperstown, N. Y. — Two photographs; and one engraving.
- Mr. JONATHAN GROUT, Worcester. — A sample book of French paper and envelopes.
- Gen. FRANCIS A. WALKER, Washington, D. C. — A Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870.
- Mrs. SARAH ELLIS, Uxbridge. — Two bound volumes.
- Mrs. CAROLINE P. MERRIAM, Worcester. — Poole's Annotations upon the Holy Bible, 2 volumes; and one pamphlet.
- Hon. E. B. STODDARD, Worcester. — Photographs of Hon. Harvey Jewell, and of the Chinese Embassy.
- MESSRS. CHARLES H. DOE & Co., Worcester. — One broadside.

- Hon. J. C. B. DAVIS, Washington, D. C. — Thirty-one volumes relating to the Treaty of Washington; and the Astronomical and Meteorological Observations made during the year 1870, at the United States Naval Observatory.
- Mrs. CALVIN WILLARD, Worcester. — One hundred and one books; and one hundred and seventy-seven pamphlets.
- Mr. J. S. WESBY, Worcester. — Four Worcester Directories for 1873.
- Messrs. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. — Their Monthly Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. HURD & HOUGHTON, New York. — Their Riverside Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. C. REINWALD & Co., Paris, Fr. — Their Bulletin, as issued.
- Messrs. COOK, SON AND JENKINS, New York. — Their "Excursionist," as issued.
- Mr. GUSTAVE BOSSANGE, Paris, Fr. — His Monthly Catalogue.
- THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. — Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. XVIII.
- LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE. — Their Memoirs, vol. 33.
- THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Collections, vol. 3; and a Memorial of Edward Jenkins Harden, late President of the Society.
- THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, 1871-1873.
- THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London. — Their Catalogue to December, 1870; Journal, vol. XLI; and Proceedings, vol. XVI, Nos. 3-5, and vol. XVII, No. 1.
- THE ESSEX INSTITUTE. — Their Bulletin, vol. 3, Nos. 10-12, vol. 5, Nos. 1-5.
- THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS. — Their Transactions, vol. 3, No. 1.
- THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings, No. 90.
- THE RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — Their Proceedings for 1872-3.
- THE CALIFORNIA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. — Their Proceedings, vol. 5, part 1.
- THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. — Their Register, as issued.
- THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE. — The Canadian Journal, as issued.
- THE MINNESOTA ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES. — Their Constitution and By-Laws, with the Address of the President, List of Officers and Committees, for 1873.
- THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON. — Their Proceedings, vol. 5, second series, Nos. 4-6.

THE IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. — The Annals of Iowa for April and July, 1873.

THE ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA. — Their Proceedings for January and February, 1873.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES. — Their Memoirs, vol. 9, New Series, Part 2, and Proceedings, pp. 95.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES, Paris, France. — Their Journal from November, 1872, to January, 1873.

THE SALEM MARINE SOCIETY. — A history of the Society from 1766 to 1872

THE PEABODY INSTITUTE OF THE CITY OF BALTIMORE. — The Sixth Annual Report of the Provost.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION. — Its History, By-Laws, and Doings at the Festival of 1873.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION. — The Missionary Magazine as issued.

THE MINING JOURNAL COMPANY, Marquette, Mich. — Three historical pamphlets relating to the Lake Superior Iron District.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOOL MANUFACTURERS. — Their Bulletin, vol. 4, No. 2.

THE COBDEN CLUB, London, Eng. — The Mission of Richard Cobden.

THE CONGREGATIONAL PUBLISHING SOCIETY. — Memoir of Nathaniel Emmons, with Sketches of his Friends and Pupils.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY. — Their Medical Communications, vol. 11, No. 7.

MOUNT HOLYOKE FEMALE SEMINARY. — Twenty-four pamphlets on the History of the School and its Pupils.

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY. — The Traveler's Record as issued.

THE NORTH CHURCH AND SOCIETY, Salem, Mass. — The First "Centenary of the North Church, Salem, 1772-1872."

THE WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION. — Twenty-two files of newspapers.

THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION. — Their twentieth annual Report.

THE COOPER UNION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART. — The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Trustees.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF WORCESTER. — Their Annual Report of 1873; sixty-nine numbers of periodicals; and twenty-two files of newspapers.

THE LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. — The Official Register for 1872-3.

THE GRAND LODGE OF F. AND A. M. OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their Proceedings of June and September, 1873.

THE WORCESTER COUNTY HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY. — The Report of 1873.

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The First Annual Report.

THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. — Their Fifty-second Annual Report.

THE CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Sixth Annual Report.

THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA. — List of Books added from January to July, 1873.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Twenty-first Annual Report; and the Bulletin as issued.

THE HINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The First Annual Report.

THE HARTFORD YOUNG MEN'S INSTITUTE. — Their Catalogue; and the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Annual Reports.

THE WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY. — The Thirteenth Annual Report; three hundred and twenty-five book catalogues; and fifty files of newspapers.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. — Eight volumes of N. Y. State Documents.

THE VERMONT STATE LIBRARY. — Seven bound volumes and two pamphlets, mostly State documents.

THE CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester. — The Boston Directory for 1872.

THE U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION. — The Commissioners' Report for the year 1872; and Circulars of Information, Nos. 1-3.

THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. — Papers relating to the Treaty of Washington, vol. 5.

THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. — Their Fourth Annual Report.

THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Journals of the New Hampshire Senate and House, June Session, 1873; and New Hampshire Laws, 1872 and 1873.

THE CITY OF BOSTON. — The City Documents for 1872, in three bound volumes.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BARRE GAZETTE. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE FITCHBURG SENTINEL. — Their Weekly paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY AND WEEKLY GAZETTE. — Their papers as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER PALLADIUM. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE WORCESTER DAILY PRESS. — Their paper as issued.

THE PROPRIETORS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS WEEKLY SPY. — Their paper as issued.

Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following semi-annual Report for the six months ending October 20, 1873.

The Librarian's and General Fund, April 28, 1873, was \$30,503.69

Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . . . 1,137.14

“ from subscription, for purchase of
photographs, 150.00

\$31,790.83

Paid for salaries and incidental ex-
penses, 1,124.77

“ for photographs, 88.00

\$1,212.77

Present amount of this Fund, **\$30,578.06**

The Collection and Research Fund, April 28, 1873, was \$14,701.76

Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . . . 566.20

\$15,267.96

Paid for books and incidentals, and part of
Librarian's salary, 205.85

Present amount of this Fund, **\$15,062.11**

The Bookbinding Fund, April 28, 1873, was . . . \$10,121.01

Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . . . 359.17

\$10,480.18

Paid for binding, and part of Asst. Librarian's
salary, 540.14

Present amount of this Fund, **\$9,940.04**

The Publishing Fund, April 28, 1873, was \$9,995.60

Received for dividends, interest, &c., since, . . . 382.36

\$10,377.96

Paid for printing, expenses incurred for pub-
lishing, &c., 398.52

Present amount of this Fund, **\$9,979.44**

<i>The Salisbury Building Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was . . .	\$10,917.93
Received for interest since,	315.00
Present amount of this Fund,	<u>\$11,232.93</u>
<i>The Isaac Davis Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was	\$697.65
Received for interest since,	18.63
Present amount of this Fund,	<u>\$716.28</u>
<i>The Lincoln Legacy Fund</i> , April 28, 1873, was . . .	\$1,182.20
Received for interest since,	30.00
Present amount of this Fund,	<u>\$1,212.20</u>
Total of the seven Funds,	<u>\$78,721.06</u>
Cash on hand, included in foregoing statement, . .	<u><u>\$1,421.06</u></u>

INVESTMENTS.

The Librarian's and General Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$14,400.00
Railroad Stock,	5,400.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,200.00
City Bonds,	1,500.00
Cash,	78.06
	<u>\$30,578.06</u>

The Collection and Research Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$4,400.00
Railroad Stock,	800.00
Railroad Bonds,	9,300.00
United States Bond,	100.00
Cash,	462.11
	<u>\$15,062.11</u>

The Bookbinding Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$5,900.00
Railroad Stock,	1,000.00
Railroad Bonds,	3,000.00
Cash,	40.04
	<u>\$9,940.04</u>

The Publishing Fund is invested in—

Bank Stock,	\$1,900.00	
Railroad Bonds,	7,000.00	
City Bonds,	1,000.00	
Cash,	79.44	
	<u> </u>	\$9,979.44

The Salisbury Building Fund is invested in—

Railroad Stock,	\$600.00	
Railroad Bonds,	1,700.00	
City Bonds,	8,500.00	
Cash,	432.98	
	<u> </u>	\$11,232.98

The Isaac Davis Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$500.00	
United States Bonds,	100.00	
Cash,	116.28	
	<u> </u>	\$716.28

The Lincoln Legacy Fund is invested in—

City Bonds,	\$1,000.00	
Cash,	212.20	
	<u> </u>	\$1,212.20

Total of the seven Funds,	<u><u> </u></u>	\$78,721.06
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Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL PAINE, *Treasurer.*

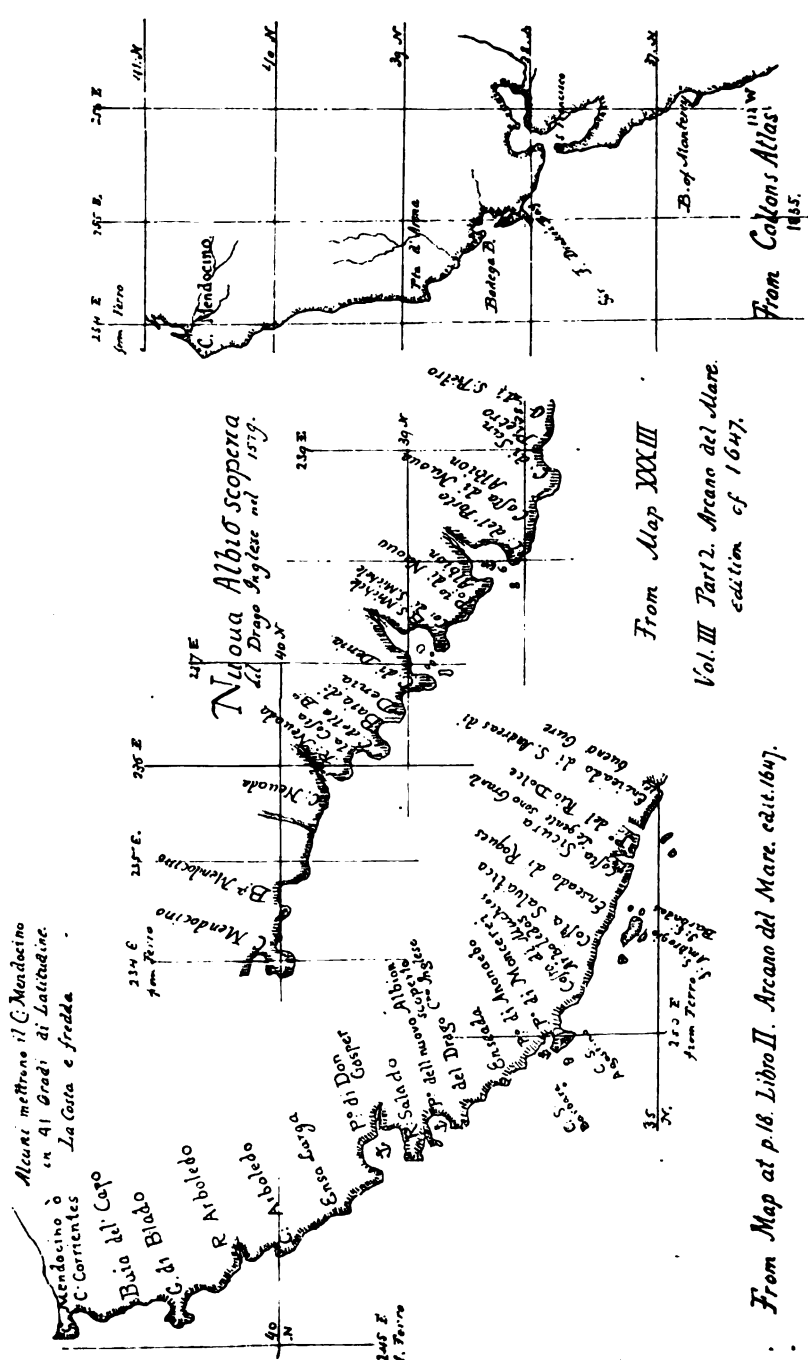
WORCESTER, October 20, 1873.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct and properly vouched. We have also examined the investments, and find them as stated; and they are safely and judiciously made.

ISAAC DAVIS, }
EBENEZER TORREY, } *Auditors.*

WORCESTER, November 14, 1873.

Alcuni mettono il C. Mendocino
 in 41 Gradi di Latitudine.
 La Carta e fredda



From Map at p. 18. Libro II. Arcano del Mare. edit. 1647.

From Map XXXIII
 Vol. III Part 2. Arcano del Mare.
 edition of 1647.

EARLY MAPS IN MUNICH.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

[The following Memoranda were made in Munich, June 22, 1873, — after an agreeable morning in the Royal Library. They are not of great importance, — and probably not of interest even to geographers, excepting so far as the references to the MS. maps of Robert Dudley may prove to be so. But I present them all to the Society, because they may at least save some trouble to other explorers. E. E. H.]

THE earliest map which they showed me bears their number, 133. It is easily read, on a roller, — not in very good preservation. No name, no date.

At Brazil (South America) is this inscription, — without the name “Brazil,” — “Istæ terræ quæ inventa sunt positum est nomen Sanctæ Crucis inventa est, et in ea est maxima copia ligni breselii etiam inventa cassia grossa ut brachium hominis. Aves Papagagi magni ut falcones et sunt rubri homines, vero ubi nullam legem tenentes se invicem comedunt.”

[The badness of the Latin is not to be charged to the copyist. E. E. H.]

At the West Indies. “Omnes istæ insulæ ac terræ inventæ fuerunt ab uno Genuensi Nomine Columbo, et in ista insula — sunt animalia alienæ naturæ — serpentes item. Inveniunt aurum in multis locis omnes istæ insulæ nominantur Antillia.”

Next to Africa. "Omnes damnati ad mortem de gratia speciali obtinent a Rege Portugalie quod toto tempore vite sue possint in hac insula habitare mona. Nihil invenitur nisi radices herba et * * * custodiam dictus. Rex ibidem castrum construxit."

The Paradisus Terrestris is in Africa on this map.

North of the Azores and west of Scotland appears a long island, marked Terradauens. The principal headlands are Capo St. Paolo, Capo Sto. Spirito.

134. Poorly done on paper. 12 maps of Asia, six of Europe.

135 is old vellum in color and gold,—“monasterium Benedictorum in Metten me possidet.”

“MSS. mixt. 19 a.” is marked inside, but the outside as above. “135 Icon. Geog.” This is the Munich number.

No. 1. The America has Cuba, Jamaica, Isabella, San Juan Porto Rico,—but *not* Florida.

The Spanish main is marked, “Tota terra inventa per Christof. Colombo Januensis de Re de Spanier.”

Brazil (South America) is marked “Tota terra vocata Sancte Crucis de Re de portugale.”

On No. III. is the West of Europe. Just west of Valencia, about the width of Ireland from it—or rather more—is a round island, with a crooked strait dividing it, marked in red, “Ja de bresile.”

Nearly half way to Terceira from this is “Isola de Mayda.”

West of the north part of Scotland, northwest of *Brazile* is Fixlada, half as large as Ireland.

On No. 1 the name Brazil does not appear, at the South American Brazil. There are six vellum charts in all; taking in the whole world. No scale nor latitudes.

136. Exquisite vellum. Its No. 4 begins at the north with "Terra de S. Col: 10 Steven Comes," meaning Sebastian Cabot. It has Cape Cod as "C. de St. Maria, baia de S. Antonio." It has Bermuda, but wholly leaves out *Brazil*, in S. America. Mexico is down as TIMITISAN. The Spanish main is quite accurately drawn to "P. Baya" and "azecises." Then it breaks off, and begins near Straits of Magellan, at southern end, with bay of Anegada [written *bay*], then "tera baya." All South America is marked PERV.

But this seems to have been merely a wish to draw *Spanish* America,—for No. 5 has, on the same scale, Terra de Brazil and the whole coast. On both 4 and 5 Cape Cod is C. de S. Maria, and both have "terra enc de Scob: 10 Steven Comes," or perhaps "Scobito Steven Comes."

Island of Brazil as in 135.

No. 137. A beautifully illustrated atlas. Spanish, on vellum. Date 1580. Not large.

I. Gives Sts. of Magelhaens from 34 South on the East Coast round to the same on the West Coast.

II. Is the rest of South America.

III. Is the Gulf of Mexico, North to Cape Breton:—which is spelled CABO BRETÃO. It is drawn square.

IV. Is Lavrador.

The other maps are Europe and Asia, and careful astronomical tables follow.

[I made a rough tracing of the United States Coast from Cape Breton to Florida. It is nearly equally divided by the Ro de Montanhos,—which corresponds with the *b. fernosa* [formosa] of the so-called S. Cabot map of 1544, and by a cape without a name,—which is the Trafal or Trafalgar of the early maps, and which Mr. Kohl supposes to be Hatteras.]

The only names I thought of any possible value are these, beginning at Cape Breton.

[In CABO BRÊTÃO.]

C. de Bretano,	Costalha.
I. de S. S. Joao.	ell Carnaual.
farillones.	Ro. de Montanhos.
Ro. grande.	Toll fas. (And, on the sea here,)
R. della vuelta.	balsos costa de medianos.
C. aquenislado.	

[South and west of "Ro. de Montanhos."]

C. della Madsagente.	R. de buenamadie.
C. de Sa. Maria.	C. de Santaa.
arcapellago.	bala de Sa cristoval.
C. dello-saüslfer.	Ro. de Santlago.
Ro. de halleros.	C. de largalenas.
C. de S. J. Batiste.	o. de sai Joan."

[At this point is the rough cape (Trafalgar, as above) without any name here.]

C. de Sact. Spirito.	de testo.
C. dell principe.	Ro. de Canoas.
Rio dell principe.	C. de S. Romao.
Po baxo.	R. Jordan.
Costa de Mattas.	C. de St. Helena.

With this familiar name begins their Florida and Gulf of Mexico. The coast of the United States is hopelessly wrong. Nothing can be identified, excepting Cape Breton, Florida, and possibly Hatteras. Yet it must be noticed that the date is 1580.

138 is four heavy volumes folio, of charts—roughly drawn, but evidently for use—on coarse, strong drawing paper.

[An inquiry made to the courteous librarian, Dr. Halm, revealed the interesting fact that these were the original maps drawn by Robert Dudley, (son of the Earl of Leicester), who took in Italy the title of Duke of Northumberland. At the end of this paper, I give a few notes regarding him.]

Vol. I. is Asia and Europe, and I did not look at it.

Vol. II. is Africa and America. Africa takes the 39 first charts, and I did not look at it. At 40, America begins with

a map which has this endorsement: Questa mezzo carte e cancellata perche e meglio fatta di nuove. It is quite recent, probably about 1620. Has some Dutch names and some English. I think the whole is drawn from Hendrick Hudson's charts. No. 40 runs from *E.* long. 316 to *E.* long. 366, and 38 N. to 47 N., the scale being as these marks show—

38 316 317 318

The Islands along the coast east of Long Island are Bloecx, at [long *E.* 317] Sloty, Nassau, Texel and Vlielant, the last two as one, which are Martha's Vineyard—*C.* Malabar is so named. *C.* Cod is la Punta. The Mass. Bay names are "*C.* d' Grave, Henri Pto. di Vos. Gelos *C.* del porto, Costa de Staten, Staten Bay," this at Plymouth, and, more inland from Plymouth, "Amouchi eisi."

Maine is "Norumbega, La Nuova Francia, Prov. di Quinbeguy."

"Nuova Anglia" is down twice.

[This corresponds with No. 2 of the Arcano, but the longitudes are a little wider, and many names have been added.] The engraved map may be thus described:—

No. 2 in the Arcano, begins a little West of 315 and runs to *E.* longitude 326. It begins at 37 N., but there is none of the coast until you come to 38 N. The coast line runs to 45 north, but the engraving with the title America. Nova Angloa goes above 47 North. The longitudes are a little narrower than the manuscript, the latitudes are just the same. The Islands along the coast East of Long Island are Id. Adrain Blocks. Island d. Nassau, Texel, and Vlielance, which are both on one island. I: Cabellano and South of Texel. I: di Hendrick. Cape Malabare is so named. Cape Cod is Cape Cod, the Massachusetts bay names are Cape Anna, Henry's Bay, Boston. Pto. Vos. et Massachusetts Accomak, Graue Bay, New Plimouth, C: di Plimouth: Golfo, B. Kooek, Fulc Bay. [These changes indicate a later revision of the MS.]

Map 41 is Nova Scotia and New Foundland,—quite accurate, and of the same scale with the other. The banks are dotted. It includes the southern part of Labrador, and there is the date 1587. But the map as above is later.

On the back of this is a small draft of New York Bay, of which I have a sufficiently accurate tracing. *Note* Hell-Gate, Sandy Bay, Narnticony, Pte de Eyer, and that *no* Dutch settlement is down. Also, *Note*, C. Henlopen. Long. 315° E. is 63° W. (about ten short.)

This drawing is probably the earliest drawing existing of New York harbor, made in such detail.

The lines of coast and islands are substantially the same as those in the Dutch map, of which there is a fac-simile in O'Callaghan's New Netherlands. The scale is twice as large, and many more names appear.

Beginning at the North the names are Mahicani, Maquani. This I suppose to be "The *first* of the Mohicans."

P. di Rachterkol, (*? Hoboken.*)
 *R. Man-nitto, (*the North River.*)
 *I. da Hellegatte. ()
 *Hellegatte, (*Hell-gate.*)
 *B. di Keer (*on L. I. Sound-Northern side.*)
 Rachterkohl.
 B. di Rachterkol (*the bay at Bergen.*)
 C. Codins (*at the West end of L. Island.*)
 *Sande-Bay or B. d' Arena (*Sandy Hook Bay.*)
 *Sand-poynt, (*Sandy Hook.*)
 *Rondebergh hook, (*Sandy Hook.*)
 Narnticony, (*S.-west of Sandy Hook Bay.*)
 R: di Sandy: Bay, (*The Inlet South of Sandy Hook Bay.*)
 Pt. de Eyer.
 C. Henlopen.

C. Henlopen is but one degree South of the Point of Sandy Hook, while the Northern point of New York island is nearly three quarters of a degree north of it.

[I have noted with a star the names on the map in O'Callaghan's New Netherlands.]

The next map is the mouth of Hudson's Bay; large and in great detail.

"Bocca del gran Golfo de H. Hudson Inglese. Scoperto nel 1613, il 2d° viaggio." It notes var. 28, 9 maustr. (australe.); goes up to 62 N. from 52 N. on the scale of two inches for one degree of latitude.

The next takes this up with Davis's Straits and just a point of Greenland.

It has variations 19, 20 marked on it.

The next gives the whole of Hudson's Bay on the same large scale.

Map 45 goes north to lat. 63, and at the north-west notes, "mare aperto et dove si sperava de pasagió alla Cina et all India." The upper corner is lat. 63, long. 297 E.

The next is the *Western* coast of America, same scales, drawn up to 53° N. and then dotted lines to N. E.

"La costa dell America Settentrionale incognita."

This begins at long. 229 E.

The next is G. of Mexico with Florida.

The next is East Florida to C. S. Romain.

Questa costa della florida fu scoperto da Francesi nel 1564.

The next, smaller scale, from Amazon up to Labrador has "La Virginia habitata d' Inglese al presente."

The next gives West of *Roanoac*. "Virginia l'Inghilterra gia abundanata."

The spelling *Roanoac* and the draught show that Dudley had seen *DeBry*.

But in New England he has "La Verginia habitata d' Inglese." And at Cape Cod, very badly drawn "C. della habitatione Inglese."

The next has Norumbega and C. Raso.

The next (46) from Florida to New England.

“La Verginia Vecchia. Windandecosia”—for N. Carolina.

“La Verginia Nuova, posseduta d’ Inglese,” at Chesipioc, and “La Nuova Inghilterra possiduta d’ Inglese.”

47 is Cuba. What follows, still on the same large scale, are South America, and the ocean even where there is no land. I mean that there are whole sheets covered with latitudes and longitudes only.

Then the maps take up the west coast,—and give California bending far to the west. But in frequent notes in Italian, the author prides himself on not going so far as the geographers.

C. di St. Trinita is at 208 East, at $25^{\circ} 30'$ N.

B. di St. Trinita at same longitude at 26° N. This map then sweeps to the west, giving C. di Hondio at the extreme north west, in long. 255 E., lat. 30 North, and the next on a very large scale.

It gives the Island of Jeddo coming east of 215° E. long., the Straits of Jeddo (Le Strette di Jeso) just five degrees of longitude wide—say 225 miles in that latitude, and then begins America. “Il Regno di Quivira,” of which the coast line runs southeast 230° East. In English *pencil* is written here, undoubtedly by Dudley himself, “The lande of Jesso ought to 217 degr. 45 lat.”

Map 83 unites the two last.

At 45° N. 218 E. there is this allusion to the cold observed by Drake :

“Quivira fu scoperto dal Drago Inglese nel 1582 fu tanto freddo nel mese d’ Guignio che nō poteva comportar lo poi andava a gr. $38\frac{1}{2}$ et laue fu tempestabile et la nominava Nova Albion ma il fredo insopportabile dure. Sin a

43 Giadi." [Drop the period at *dure* and this is intelligible.] Under this is "Terra Freddo* che era detto Porto."

On 84, which is a line of the American Pacific Coast, is this note: "Li Spanioli nel ritonare delle Filippini alla nuova Spagna seguitano questa costa per beneficio delli venti marestrali in la favoni, et comuna m^{re} nō t oceano in alrui luoghi si no al Capo Mendocino."

The next says:

"Non marivghiale" [do not marvel] "che questa mia carte fa la distantia di longitudine fra il capo di Mendocino et il capo Callifornia molto pio corto delli Carte volgari che sono falsissimi in questa distante per centinaria di leaghi."

This map gives R. di Todos Sanctos at 42½ N. Lat.; Cape Mendocino at 40; B. of N. Albion at 237 E. Long. and 38 N. with the note "N. Porto bonissimo."

[Our California friends must permit me to say that Porto bonissimo is a very strong phrase for the open roadstead of "Sir Francis Drake's Bay" as it is now understood.]

The back of 86, a large sheet, is covered with a note which includes a long copy from a Jesuit letter writer in Jeddo, in the year 1621; letter 217 by Padre Girolano de Angelis, as to a Japanese statement made to him; viz:

That from Matzuma in Japan towards the east, was 90 days sail, at 18 to 20 miles per day, and that from the same place to the west, which they call Nixir, is 60 days sail.

[I print the notes above substantially as I made them in Munich. Unfortunately for me when I visited the Library the next day to make further study of these original maps of Dudley's, I found that in honor of St. John's day, it was closed. I had to solace myself as I could, by

*"Quivira was discovered by Drake, the Englishman, in 1582; it was so cold in the month of June that he could not bear it. Then he went to 38½ degrees; and the weather was temperate and he called it Nova Albion. But the insupportable cold continued to 43 degrees," (that is to one coming south). In the printed editions the date 1582 is corrected to 1579.

remembering that on that day Cabot discovered North America. In London afterwards Mr. Major rendered me every assistance in the British Museum, where they have a fine copy of the Engraved Arcano del Mare, and there and at our Cambridge, I have studied the engraved maps, which, so far as the identification of the Californian localities goes, seem to me to deserve more interest than they have received. It is evident that Dudley thought he had first rate authority. It is known that he was Cavendish's brother-in-law, and it seems impossible that he should not have had Cavendish's charts. Cavendish's first voyage in the South Sea was in 1587. His second, in which he died, was in 1592-3.

The engraved Arcano omits many of the maps in the MS. The most important of the large maps of Hudson's Bay are omitted. I believe them to have been drawn from Hudson's own, because there was no other authority possible. It seems to me that they have very high authority. The date of that series is evidently after 1620, and before 1630.

I will mention here, that the map printed in fac-simile in O'Callaghan, from an old map in Albany, is the southwestern quarter of No. 2, of the "Arcano."

NOTE ON ROBERT DUDLEY,

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

AND HIS ARCANO DEL MARE.

Robert Dudley, who took in Italy the title of Duke of Northumberland, was the son of the celebrated Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, by Lady Douglas Howard, the widow of Lord Sheffield. He was born at Sheen in Surrey, in 1573.

Lady Douglas Sheffield and her son always claimed, and apparently with good grounds, that Leicester was secretly married to her. If he were, this Robert Dudley should have inherited Leicester's titles.

But in 1576, immediately after the Countess of Essex became a widow, Leicester privately married her. He abandoned and disowned Lady Sheffield; and her son, Robert Dudley, was declared to be only his natural issue. Leicester never abandoned him however, but, under his direction he was educated by Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and when he came to the proper age, he was sent to Christ College, Oxford.

At Leicester's death, in 1588, he left to this Robert Dudley, Kenilworth and the lordships of Denbigh and Chick, and the bulk of his estate.

The young man's genius was adventurous, and he shared the enthusiasm of his time for maritime exploits. He married a sister of the navigator, Thomas Cavendish, and in 1592 took out letters of administration on Cavendish's estate. There seems to be some question whether Cavendish were then dead, but he had been long absent from England.

This circumstance seems to me to give special interest to Dudley's notes on the Pacific Ocean, and his maps of the California Coast, of which he always speaks as if he had authorities at first hand. Cavendish had entered the Pacific Ocean, Jan. 6, 1597, had passed along the coast to Acapulco and *California*, and reached England by way of Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 9, 1588.

This was just the time of Leicester's death, and the young Sir Robert Dudley hoped to make an expedition to the South Seas. Queen Elizabeth prevented him, and disappointed in this hope he fitted out an expedition at his own charge in 1594, and sailed for Trinidad and Guiana,

of which expedition he wrote a modest narrative, which is in Hackluyt, p. 514, Vol. III. He was in the river Oronoco just before Raleigh. After the death of his first wife, about the end of Elizabeth's reign, he married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh.

In 1605 he began a suit to prove the legitimacy of his birth, but the suspicion with which he was regarded by the government, and the steady opposition of the Countess of Essex, his father's widow, if his birth were illegitimate, stood in his way. At the same time he abandoned his own wife, seduced the daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, and went with her to Florence, in Italy, where he took the title of Earl of Warwick. On going abroad he took a license to travel "with three servants, four geldings and eighty pounds in money." Travelling on the continent would seem to have been cheaper than it is now. It is said that Elizabeth Southwell went disguised as one of the servants. In 1607 James I. recalled him, but he refused to obey the call, and his estate during his life was seized by the crown. Kenilworth was bought by agreement with him, for the young Prince Henry, for £14,500, of which only £3,000 were ever paid to him.

He died in 1639.

He was a favorite with Cosmo II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was of great service to that country.

The creation of the present city of Leghorn, as a large and beautiful commercial mart, is due to his engineering skill and enterprise in draining a vast morass between Pisa and the sea.

He improved the harbor of Leghorn, induced the Duke to proclaim it a free port, and persuaded many English merchants to settle there.

The Duke of Tuscany made him a Duke of the Holy Roman Empire. He became chamberlain to the Grand Duchess, and he then assumed his grandfather's title of the Duke of Northumberland.

It is by this title that he is known in the Italian histories, and this is the title given to him in his manuscript atlas in the library of Munich, which these notes describe.

He was always a patron of science and literature. His most important work is the "Arcano del Mare," in which are engraved a part of the maps in the Munich MSS. collection. The title of the first edition is "Del Arcano del Mare di Roberto Dudleo, Duca di Nortumbria e Conte di Warwick, libri VI., Firenze, 1630, 46, 47." It is in royal folio, 3 vols., beautifully executed. This first edition is now very rare; a copy of it, mentioned by Lowndes, sold for £30 9s. I found two sets in the British Museum. There is one of the same in perfect order in the library of Harvard College.

A part of the Arcano del Mare is in the Public Library of the city of Worcester.

Gorton's estimate of Dudley is in these words: "Like others of his family he was an active, clever, well-informed, but unprincipled man."

I cannot find that Hallam notices him at all. I cannot but think that

the maps and dissertations in the *Arcano del Mare*, are of much more importance than one would infer from Gorton's remarks. If, as I believe, he used the original charts of Henry Hudson, the manuscript at Munich gives us by far the most accurate account we have of the northern voyages of that discoverer. I have already said that there is reason to suspect that the maps of the Pacific Coast were drawn from the original observations of Cavendish.

I have read but little of the text of the *Arcano*, but I ought to say that what I have read seems to me much more judicious, and to show much more real scientific knowledge than the average of such speculations in those days.

The Atlas in the *Arcano* contains thirty-three maps of America. My notes on the Munich Atlas show that that contains forty-six maps in manuscript. After the engraved map. No. 33, the reference to Drake and the coldness of Oregon is in the following words:

"Questa Carta e l'ultima del sesto Libro, la quale comincia co'l porto di Nuova Albion di longitudine gr. 237 e latitudine gr. 38 scoperto dal Drago Inglese nel 1579 in circa, come di sopra, luogo comodo per far' acqua, e pigliare altri rinfrescamenti. Il detto Drago trovò, che li genti saluaticchi del paese erano molto cortesi, e amorevoli, e la terra assai ben fruttifera, e l'aria temperata. Vidde di conigli in quantità grande, ma con code lunghe come i topi, e di molti cavalli saluaticchi, con maggior maraviglia, atteso che gli Spagnuoli non videro mai cavalli nell' America; e la ragione perchè il Drago cercò, e trovò detto porto, fu questa, che essendo passato il capo Mendozino vero di latitudine gr. 42 e mezzo per far acqua, fin a gr. 43 e mez. di latitudine Tramontana egli trovò la costa con tanto freddo nel mese di Giugno che le sue genti non erano abili à comportarlo, del che si maraviglio assai, essendo il clima quasi pari à quelli di Toscana, e di Roma in Italia."

I annex heliotype copies of tracings from two of the maps in the *Arcano*. The larger one is from the second book, at page 18. The smaller is from that just named, map 33, of part 2nd, volume III., being indeed the last map in the collection, and corresponding to the MS. map 84 in the Munich Atlas.

It will be observed that the only name which appears on both of these little fragments is that of "Puerto dell Nuova Albion, Scoperto dal Drago Inglese," which on the other appears as "P.to di Nuova Albion." In both it is represented as a bay well closed by its headlands,—and an anchorage.

On both tracings another bay of similar shape is represented just to the North of Drake's bay. In one this is called "Bala S. Michele." In the other it appears as "Po. di. don Gasper." It is to be observed that this also, has the curious bottle shaped look of Drake's bay,—and I must be indulged the remark, that the bay of San Francisco, after numerous reductions and copyings would assume much this shape in the hydrography of that time.

I confess that it seems to me that more than one navigator of those times probably entered the Golden Gate into the bay of San Francisco. Each one recorded his own latitude,—and these two bays of map 33, almost identical in appearance, are due to an effort of the map maker to include two incorrect latitudes, in one map. If the maker of the *Arcano* had made his “B. St. Michele” identical with his “Porto di Nuova Albion” there could be little doubt that it represented the present Bay of San Francisco.

The full title of the first map is “*Carta prima generale d’America dell’ India Occidentale è Mare del Zur.*”

The full title of the other map, No. 33, is “*Carta particolare dello Stretto di Jezo fra l’America è L’Isola Jezo.*” For further illustration of these maps, I annex the line of coast as drawn by our own geographers, from Colton’s Atlas.

The copy of the *Arcano* in the library of Harvard College is from the Collection of Ebeling. In his own handwriting is this note on the first page, after stating that he had received it from the Chamber of Commerce of Hamburg:

“*Liber longe rarissimus æque ac maximè pretii, paucis visis, quoque instructissimæ sæpe caruere Bibliothecæ Publicæ.*” Vol. I. has the date 1646. Vol. II. and III. have the date 1647.

My authorities in the notes I here make of Dudley’s life, beside the biographical dictionaries, are:

1. “*Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester, together with memoirs and correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley.* By George Adlard, London: Smith, 1870.”

Mr. Adlard does not seem to have seen the *Arcano*.

2. “*The Italian Biography of Sir Robert Dudley, Knight, known in Florentine history as ‘Il Duca di Nortombria.’*” By the Vicar of Stonelligh.

This volume seems to have been a part of the Warwickshire Historical Collections. The author, whose name, at this moment, I do not know, says: “The reader is to be informed that as Vicar of Stonelligh the writer has a commemorative duty to perform every year, which necessarily brought him to the knowledge of Sir Robert Dudley’s character.” The author is convinced that Dudley was the legitimate son of Leicester, and shows that Charles I. was of this opinion. He refers for Sir H. Nicolas Harris Nicolas’s opinion to pp. 248, 249, 250, 251 of the Report on the Peerage Case before the Lords in 1824. See also Dugdale’s Warwickshire, p. 166.

REMARKS OF PROF. SMYTH,

ON SOME OF THE CONNECTIONS, BY MARRIAGE, OF

COLUMBUS.

MR. PRESIDENT:—

The Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* gave, more than a year since, a brief account of a new investigation into the history of the family with which Christopher Columbus was united by marriage. Mr. Irving† has pointed out in an interesting way the influence of this connection on the career of the great Discoverer, and his statements are fitted to awaken a desire for further information. As no notice has been taken in this country, so far as I am aware, of the essay alluded to, I will read, with your permission, a translation of the article in the Augsburg Journal, hoping that some one may be prompted to furnish us with the original paper.

“The Biographers of the Discoverer of the New World agree in relating that his first wife was a Portuguese of Italian descent. Several of them, Spaniards as well as Italians, complete the account by the more precise statement that the Pallastrelli family in Piacenza was the stem from which sprang the Portuguese Perestrello, to whom belonged the Filippa who gave her hand to the great Genoese, without being permitted to become a witness of his fame. Since the last third of the sixteenth century connections were entered

* Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung, Nr 118, 1872.

† Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, I., p. 42 et seq.

into between the two branches of the family, at first through an Augustinian brother, Fra Lodovico de Beja Perestrelli, who came to Italy and became Professor in Bologna and Secretary of the well known Cardinal Gabriel Paleotto. His memoranda, however inexact, helped to find the right track. This has now been done by Count Bernardo Pallastrelli, Vice President of the Royal Historical Commission for Modena-Parma, who has published, in an essay,* the results of his investigations in the Archives of Piacenza, and of information obtained from Lisbon, Madrid, and elsewhere.

"The family Pallastrelli appears first towards the end of the eleventh century, and numerous members of it are found from this time on in civil offices and military service in Piacenza, their home; and also, abroad, as Podesta in Modena, Bologna, Pistoja, Fuligno, etc. Their possessions stretched from the bank of the Po to the front heights of the Apennines. Filippo, son of Gabriele Pallastrelli and Bertolina Bracciforte, went, about the year 1385, to Portugal, at the beginning of the reign of King John I. What drew him thither is not known. That he lived as a nobleman is attested by the tradition which has remained in the family, as well as by the position of his two sons, borne by Caterina Visconti, Bartolommeo and Raffaele. The posterity of the latter still flourish at Funchal in Madeira. Bartolommeo was one of the nobles of the *Infante* Don Juan, brother of Don Henry the navigator; and was commissioned by the latter to colonize the small island Porto Santo, which Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz, after the conflicts on the northern coast of Africa, had first touched, it is said, on their voyages in the year 1418. A Venetian traveller, Luigi da Cadamosto, who visited Porto Santo in 1455, calls Bartolommeo Perestrello (the name had taken this form in the foreign land), its Governor. Filippa, his daughter, married, about 1476, Christopher Columbus. Fernando, son of the discoverer by a second marriage, names indeed a Pietro Perestrello, but with all others who have written about his great father the name Bartolommeo appears, so that an error is to be presumed in the biography by Fernando. Bartolommeo was dead when the marriage took place. Columbus dwelt a

* Il succero e la moglie di Christoforo Colombo. in den Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patria, &c , Vol. VI., 1872.

long time at Porto Santo, where the charts and papers of the deceased Bartolommeo, which Columbus found in the house of his mother-in-law, are said to have afforded him materials for study. * * * A sister of Filippa was married to Pedro Correa, a brave voyager who for some time held the captaincy at Porto Santo. This, as Bartolommeo appears to have left no son, passed over to the descendants of his brother, who still possessed it as an inheritance in the second half of the preceding century. The coat of arms which the Pallastrelli of Piacenza have in common with their Portuguese kindred, shows a springing lion."

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MEMORANDUM

AS TO THE

DISCOVERY OF THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO,

BY JOHN T. DOYLE.

WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BY JOHN D. WASHBURN.

MR. WASHBURN said :

Before reading the memorandum which Mr. Doyle has furnished, it may be well to re-call to the attention of the Society the circumstances out of which the expedition of Portala grew.

The Jesuits, as will be remembered, never entered Upper California. Their missions were scattered along the peninsula of Lower California, and therein they were content to remain. Some of them seem to have been persuaded that the region north of the peninsula, while it offered great space for the diffusion of missionary labor, was even more dreary and forbidding than that they were occupying. Indeed, after the expulsion, they seem to have thought Lower as well as Upper California a desert and profitless tract of country, of which they were well and happily relieved. This conviction is well illustrated in Father Begart's "Historical Sketch of the American Peninsula" of California.

But in 1767, Charles the Third of Spain made a decree expelling the Jesuits from all his dominions, and of those dominions California was a part. The hopes of the early fathers were blighted, and the fruits of their labors were abandoned, to be gathered by strangers to their Order. Their missions were taken from them, their property sequestered, the possession of their "pious fund" assumed by the crown, and their spiritual prerogatives transferred to the Order of St. Francis.

In Lafuente's "*Historia General de España*," published in Madrid, in 1858, the text of this decree may be found. It briefly orders the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions. The reasons for its issue pertain to the history of Spain rather than to that of California. Under its provisions the ownership of the property of the Jesuits of the peninsula was assumed by the crown, which also took possession of the "Pious Fund." It appears, however, that this fund, given in trust to the fathers for specific purposes, was theoretically regarded and practically treated by the crown as a trust. Its income was devoted to the purpose for which it was given, though the channel of its distribution was changed. Mr. Doyle has written a brief article on the subject of this Pious Fund, a copy of which is laid on the Society's table to-day.

It should be added that the edict of expulsion of the Jesuits was dated February 27, 1767. In 1768 this was carried into practical effect in California, and by order of the Viceroy the missions of the Jesuits were placed in charge of the Franciscans. Two years later, April 8, 1770, a royal decree directed that half the missions be conceded to the

Dominicans. Subsequently, by a convention of the authorities of the two orders, to which the Viceroy gave assent, it was arranged that the Dominicans should have charge of all the missions of the peninsula, and the Franciscans of those of Upper California.

This division was a natural one in view of events that took place in 1769, the year before it was made. The progressive and aspiring Franciscan did not abandon Lower California till he had found a country better suited to every purpose for which he wanted a country at all.

And it happened in this wise.

The Viceroy of Mexico at that time was the Marquis de Croix. Father Junipero Serra had been, under the new order of things, selected as President of the Missions. He entered on his office at Loreto, in April, 1768, and made this entry on the manuscript record of the church there. "We are in the mission and royal presidio of Loreto, capital of this peninsula of California, sixteen religious priests, preachers and apostolic missionaries, * * * the fathers of the Company of Jesus having been expelled, for reasons known to his Majesty." A remarkable man was Father Serra, enthusiastic, brave, devoted, of marvellous power to charm, and cheerful in enduring all suffering and privation. Palou, in his life, printed in Mexico, about 1779, gives a sketch of his character, which, though perhaps highly colored, through personal partiality and regard, yet furnishes a picture, after all due allowance made, of a man of commanding talent, of heroic and lofty purpose, of "an understanding animated with ardor and enlightened by prophecy," inspired with the conviction, with the expression of which the Jesuit Venegas closes his history, that "on the North side of California,

(Lower California, that of the Jesuits), are vast countries, inhabited by infidel natives, who never have heard of Christianity and the glad tidings of salvation it offers to the human race. And surely it is an undertaking highly conformable both to the dictates of humanity and the precepts of the gospel, to convert such multitudes of the human species from their brutal and enormous vices to the paths of virtue and religion."

From this man, placed at a critical juncture at the head of so important interests, opportunity was not long withheld. In the same year that he established himself at Loreto, the new visitor-general, José de Galvez, arrived with an order from the king to re-discover by sea (substantially what Viscayno undertook to accomplish), and establish a settlement at San Diego. Galvez was not slow to enter on the execution of this order, nor was an earnest coadjutor wanting in the person of Father Serra. Two expeditions were at once organized, one by sea and one by land. Each of them was, for prudential reasons, divided into two detachments, but all had San Diego for their destination.

On January 9th, 1769, the flag-ship of the expedition, the San Carlos, sailed from La Paz. She was followed by the blessing of Father Serra, and Galvez, in a brief address, bade her God-speed. On the 15th of February the San Antonio sailed, and the two vessels were freighted with the material supplies for the founding of their missions. The Governor of Lower California, Gaspar de Portala, commanded the land expedition. Don Fernando Rivera de Moucada was placed at the head of a detachment of this, and set out on the 24th of March. Father Crespi, whose journal is the foundation of Mr. Doyle's paper, accompanied

him—and Father Serra, with the Governor, remained till May, when the last of the four detachments started for the North. It arrived at San Diego on the 1st of July, the others having reached that point before it. Randolph, in his "Outline of the history of California," claims for this day "a prouder distinction than belongs to it as the birthday of Wellington and Napoleon, for it was the first day on which white men entered Upper California determined to live and die there." This last distinction may well be conceded to the day, although the exact historian will not admit that Napoleon and Wellington were born on the same day, or that either of them was born on July 1, 1769.

And so they rejoiced together, and, obedient to the injunction given the Jesuits more than half a century before, they took possession of the country in the King's name. They founded their mission, erected a temporary church edifice, planted their crops, sang masses, and burned gunpowder as incense. The heart of Father Serra was gladdened by the prospect of an early and abundant harvest of souls.

But Galvez had instructed Portala to re-discover Monterey and its bay. It was not his province to aid Father Serra in securing salvation to the infidel. His office was to find the bay Viscayno saw one hundred and sixty-six years before, and which had never been re-visited. Resting at San Diego, and sharing in the labors and rejoicings of the brave Father, Portala made his preparations for the Northern expedition, and on the 14th day of July set forth.

And at this point Mr. Doyle takes up the story.

MR. DOYLE'S MEMORANDUM.

It appears to me that the question as to the discovery of what we now call the Bay of San Francisco, is nearly, if not quite, set at rest by the diary of Fr. John Crespi, contained in Palou's Notices of Upper California. Father Crespi was one of the Missionaries who accompanied the first expedition, which, under the command of Don Gaspar Portala, moved up the coast, by land, from San Diego. The last detachment of the first colonists had reached San Diego on July 1st, 1769, and after a fortnight's repose there, this party started to the northward on the 14th of the same month. They were ordered to seek Monterey, where two small schooners, the San José and the Principe, were directed to meet them. It is inferable from the text that they were furnished with Viscayno's description of the various points on the coast he had visited, and it is reasonable to suppose that the journals, &c., of Viscayno's voyage, though never published, and said now to be unfindable among the Spanish Archives, were then accessible to the authorities.* On reaching their destination they found the "point of Pines" in the latitude assigned to it by Viscayno,

* At all events, though Viscayno's maps and journals were not found by Venegas, and are probably, as said by Mr. Doyle, unfindable, Torquemada's account of this voyage was then, as now, extant, and from it a very good idea of the results of the expedition could be obtained.

J. D. W.

but could not recognize, in the great open roadstead to the north of it, the Bay of Monterey, described by him. After consultation they determined to advance further to the northward, on the supposition of an error in latitude. They adopted this suggestion the more readily because they mistook what afterwards turned out to be a fog bank, for the loom of a projecting point to the northward, which they supposed might prove the true point Pinos. They therefore resumed their march, keeping close to the ocean shore, and advanced as far as Half Moon Bay. The headland which shelters this bay on the north, now called point *Corral de Tierra*, they called point *Guardian Angel*. There they halted, and finding their latitude to be $37^{\circ} 31'$, considerably above that assigned to Monterey, with nothing in the character of the coast, since leaving point Pinos, to correspond to the description of it, they concluded they must have passed it by; that either Viscayno's description of it was much too highly colored, or else that the bay itself had, since his visit, been filled up with silt or destroyed by some convulsion of nature.* Before returning they sent a party over the hills to the northeastward to reconnoitre the interior, with orders to return in three days. At the end of that period the explorers came back, firing muskets, waving banderas and shouting the news of a great discovery. The whole camp went out to meet them, and learned that from the crest of the hills they had discovered, to the eastward, a great arm of the sea (or Mediterranean sea as they

* An examination of the map of this bay, if such it can properly be termed, will show that the expedition could not properly be charged with a lack of ordinary intelligence in not recognizing it as the bay described in the account of Viscayno's voyage.

termed it,) with a fair and extensive valley bordering it, rich and fertile,—a paradise compared to the country they had been passing over. The following morning the camp was broken up and the whole expedition moved northeastwardly over the hills. From their summits overhanging San Mateo, they discovered the “Farallones at the Bay of San Francisco,” and Point Reyes, the latitude of which they determined approximately. In order to reach it and the Bay of San Francisco, as they understood it, they had to pass round the great sheet of water spread out before them, and to this end they turned to the southeast through what we now call the Cañada Raymundo. On Whitney’s map of the Vicinity of San Francisco, you can trace their daily marches and encampments. They advanced as far as the crossing of the San Francisquito Creek, near where the Village of Searsville now stands, and there, finding that the estuary which had narrowed thus far, grew wider again, they doubted the prudence of venturing further. A council was called, which in view of the lateness of the season, the scarcity of provisions, (they had been on short allowance ever since leaving Point Pinos), and the increasing hostility of the natives, voted to return. Portala would have pushed on, but was overruled, and in deference to the views of his companions, sadly began to retrace his steps on the 11th Nov., 1769. I have little doubt these were the first white men who ever saw this Bay of San Francisco.

Portala’s expedition reached Point Pinos on its homeward trip Nov. 27, and after spending nearly a fortnight more in searching the coast, up and down, for the Bay of Monterey, finally, on Dec. 9 gave it up as one of the things which could not be found out, and started on their return to San

Diego, where they arrived, worn out with hunger and fatigue, on the 24th of January following.

Before leaving Point Pinos they erected on its southern side a large wooden cross, partly as a memento of their sojourn there, and partly to attract the attention of the expedition by sea, in case of its reaching the same place. On the cross was cut the legend, "*Dig at the foot of this, and you will find a writing;*" and at its foot accordingly they buried a brief account of their journey. Its text is set forth in the diary of Father Crespi, and is as follows:

"The overland expedition which left San Diego on the 14th of July, 1769, under the command of Don Gaspar Portala, Governor of California, reached the channel of Santa Barbara on the 9th of August, and passed Point Conception on the 27th of the same month. It arrived at the sierra de Santa Lucia on the 13th of September, entered that range of mountains on the 17th of the same month, and emerged from it on the 1st of October; on the same day caught sight of Point Pinos, and the harbors on its north and south sides, without discovering any indications or landmarks of the Bay of Monterey. Determined to push on further in search of it, and on the 30th of October got sight of Point Reyes and the Farallones, at the Bay of San Francisco, which are seven in number. The expedition strove to reach Point Reyes, but was hindered by an immense arm of the sea, which, extending to a great distance inland, compelled them to make an enormous circuit, for that purpose. In consequence of this and other difficulties, the greatest of all being the absolute want of food, the expedition was compelled to turn back, believing that they must have passed the harbor of Monterey without discovering it.

Started on return from the Bay of San Francisco on the 11th of November, passed Point Año Nuevo on the 19th, and reached this point and harbor of Pinos on the 27th of the same month. From that date until the present 9th of December, we have used every effort to find the Bay of Monterey, searching the coast, notwithstanding its ruggedness, far and wide, but in vain. At last, undeceived and despairing of finding it, after so many efforts, sufferings and labors, and having left of all our provisions but 14 small sacks of flour, we leave this place to-day for San Diego. I beg of Almighty God to guide it; and for you, traveller, who may read this, that He may guide you, also, to the harbor of eternal salvation."

"Done, in this harbor of Pinos, the 9th of December, 1769."

"NOTE.—That Don Michael Constanzo, the engineer, observed the latitude of various places on the coast, and the same are as follows:"

"San Diego, at the camp occupied by the overland expedition, $32^{\circ} 42'$."

"The Indian village at the east end of the channel of Santa Barbara, $34^{\circ} 13'$."

"Point Concepcion, $34^{\circ} 30'$."

"The southern foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, $35^{\circ} 45'$."

"Its northern extremity in this harbor and Point of Pinos, $36^{\circ} 36'$."

"Point Año Nuevo, which has low reefs of rocks, $36^{\circ} 04'$."*

"The land near the harbor of San Francisco, having the Farallones on the west, quartering north, $37^{\circ} 35'$."

[*Probably an error in transcribing; the other latitudes given are very nearly correct.]

"Point Reyes, which we discovered on the west, northwest from the same place, supposed to be $37^{\circ} 44'$."

"If the commanders of the schooners, either the *San José* or the *Principe*, should reach this place within a few days after this date, on learning the contents of this writing, and of the distressed condition of this expedition, we beseech them to follow the coast down closely towards San Diego, so that if we should be happy enough to catch sight of them we may be able to apprize them, by signals, flags and firearms, the place in which succor and provisions may reach us."

"'Glory be to God,' says the pious chronicler, 'the cross was erected on a little hillock close to the beach of the small harbor on the south side Point Pinos, and at its foot we buried the letter.'"

On the other side of the point they erected another cross, and carved on its arms, with a razor, the words:

"The overland expedition from San Diego returned from this place on the 9th of December, 1769, starving."

In 1771, and subsequently, the endeavors to reach the Bay of San Francisco, under the lee of Point Reyes, were continued.—The diaries of these expeditions we have in Palou's Notices. This great arm of the sea was a standing obstacle to their success. One of these expeditions, in endeavoring to pass round it, got over the coast range into the valley of the San Joaquin River, and disregarding its original object, carried its explorations as far to the southward as the vicinity of the Tulare Lakes. Finally Father Palou himself made the suggestion that the Bay of San Francisco could only be reached from this side, by sea, and that therefore they had better establish provisionally a mission here,

at the extremity of the Peninsula, and get up a boat with which to approach San Francisco. This advice was adopted, and the mission of San Francisco founded here, he himself being appointed the first missionary in charge of it.

It is pretty plain that what we call Drake's Bay, under Point Reyes, was what they understood to be the Bay of San Francisco,* and strove to arrive at, and as they were furnished with Viscayno's description of it, there is, in my mind, little doubt that Drake's Bay is the same which he designated by the name of St. Francis. It is easy to understand that when they finally did get to it, and were able to compare it with this, the intention of forming a settlement there was abandoned in favor of this place, and that the mission established here under the patronage of St. Francis thereafter naturally gave its name to the bay on which it stood.

JOHN T. DOYLE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., July 29, 1873.

*Since the reading of this paper, I have received from Mr. Doyle a letter an extract from which will serve still farther to confirm the theory maintained in his communication.

"The Spanish Archives of this State contained a great deal also, but they are imperfect. For years the government allowed them to be kicked about the presidios and used for waste paper. Gen. Stone, (now serving the Khedive of Egypt), was, I believe, the first scholar who realized their importance, and caused them to be boxed up. I, this morning, casually came across in them a confirmation of the supposition that the present Bay of San Francisco was not, when discovered, supposed to be the one named by Viscayno. It is an original letter from the Marquis de Croix to Don Pedro Fagro, governor, &c., dated Mexico, November 12, 1770, wherein, after acknowledging the receipt of several letters down to a then recent date, and stating that Don Gaspar de Portala, ex-Governor, and Don Miguel Constanzo, both of whom had accompanied the first expedition by land which discovered this bay, (the former as commander, the latter as engineer), had returned to Mexico and recounted to him, personally, the various occurrences, *he goes on to complain of the want of any news of finding the Bay of San Francisco*, which he describes as in 38° 30' latitude. Other documents, as late as 1774, speak of it as still not found."

J. D. W.

MEMORIAL OF GOVERNOR ENDECOTT.

MR. SALISBURY, addressing the Society, said :

It seems to me to be proper that the gift of this excellent portrait of Gov. Endecott should be received with more full consideration of its worth, than the brief notice of the Reports of the Council and the Librarian. It was accompanied by the following letter from Judge Endicott :

SALEM, Oct. 16, 1873.

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, *President of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester :*

DEAR SIR: Two years ago, when visiting the building of the Society at Worcester, I saw a copy, or what was intended for a copy, of the portrait of John Endecott.* It struck me as so imperfect, and that it did such poor justice to the original, that I then resolved to give to the Society a good copy of the original picture. Circumstances have delayed the accomplishment of this purpose, but I have finally succeeded in obtaining a very excellent copy. I have sent it to Worcester, by express, directed to you, and desire that you present it to the American Antiquarian Society, from me, to be preserved in your collections, with your other historical portraits. It was painted by Mr. Southland, of Salem, from the original portrait, now in the possession of my father, William P. Endicott, of Salem. The original descended to him as the oldest son of the oldest son direct from the Governor, together with the sword with which the cross was cut from the King's colors, and a few other heirlooms. It was painted in 1665,

* The Governor and his descendants, until 1724, spelt the name Endecott.—*Memoir of John Endecott.*

the year of the Governor's death, and the tradition in the family declares it to have been a most admirable likeness. I do not know when the several copies in the Senate Chamber, the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Essex Institute were made, but they all are more or less imperfect and inferior, and do not compare in fidelity and character with the picture sent to you. I assure you, my dear sir, I take a great interest in the Society and the good work it is doing, and with my best wishes for its continued growth, and with the kindest personal regards for yourself, believe me,

Very truly yours,

WM. C. ENDICOTT.

In presenting this valuable acquisition for your inspection, I have placed by the side of it a portrait of Gov. Endecott that has hung on your walls for many years, and was received from the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, to whom the Society is indebted for many treasures, in manuscript and print. The old portrait has compelled those, who would admire its subject, to turn away and "see his visage in his mind." This fine painting has the face, not of a cold and narrow bigot, but of a man who would view his object broadly and fearlessly in all its relations, and would not withhold the kindness of those pleasant eyes. We may now gaze on the lineaments and expression that are suited to one, who is described by Edward Johnson in his "Wonder-Working Providence" as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerful spirit, loving or austere as occasion served."* His apprehension and his temper were quick, and his self-control was sometimes astonishing. In all his words and actions there was a constant and cheerful recognition of

* Wonder-Working Providence, 19.

religious duty. The personal beauty, which is here represented, has not been wanting in the ladies of his family in our own day.

John Endecott was born in Dorchester, England, in 1588.* Governor Winthrop was born in the same year. I find nothing more in relation to the social position of Endecott in England than the facts that he was a brother-in-law of Roger Ludlow, and his first wife was Anna Gower, a cousin of Matthew Cradock. This wife died soon after his arrival in New England, and left no children. On 18th of August, 1630, sixty-seven days after the arrival of Governor Winthrop, Endecott was married by Governor Winthrop and Rev^d. Mr. Wilson, to Elizabeth Gibson,† who was born in Cambridge, England, and probably came over with Governor Winthrop. She was the mother of twelve children.

I do not know that there is any other evidence of the scholastic education of Governor Endecott than a few letters and official papers from his pen. These, with an independent variety of spelling—the effect of changing fashion—and an entire disuse of any other language than the English, except in one instance, that I have observed, of the Latin word, “quære,”‡ are of a high character for clear statements and a choice of courteous expressions. His letter, dated Oct. 21, 1663,§ written to persuade Rev^d. Dr. John Owen, of England, to come to Boston, to take the place of Rev. John Norton, deceased, would do honor to any University. It does not appear that he was a lover of study, or of any book but the Bible, to which his allusions were frequent, and were made for strength of sentiment or argument rather than for orna-

* Drake's Am. Dict. of Biography. † Winthrop's New England, 1, 30.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., vol. 6, p. 140. § Felt's Annals of Salem.

ment or display. The memoir by Mr. C. M. Endicott mentions that he was elected a member of the corporation of Harvard College, in 1642, when he was also Deputy Governor. He proved that he deserved this honorable distinction, when on the 9th of May, 1655, he acted in behalf of the Corporation, with the concurrence of the Overseers, in addressing to the General Court an eloquent and persuasive "information" of the condition and necessities of the College and urgently prayed for aid; "if this work of the College be thought fit to be upheld and continued, as we hope that considerations of the glory of God, the honorable interest of the country, the good of posterity and the experience of the benefits and blessings thereof, will constrain all men to say it is, then something must effectually be done for help in the premises."* Rev^d. Dr. Felt in his "Annals of Salem" quotes from the record of the Quarterly Court, that on March 30, 1641, "Col. Endecott moued about the ffences and about a ffree skoole, and therefore wished a whole towne meeting about it; therefore, that Goodman Auger warne a town meeting on the second day of the week." Dr. Felt remarks that "this is the first written intimation of instruction without price among our settlers." As evidence that "in the voluntary support of schools perhaps Boston led the way," Mr. Savage quotes from the Record of 1635, a vote "that our brother Philemon Pormont shall be entreated to become schoolmaster, for the teaching and nurturing of children with us."† But the merit of Col. Endecott's efforts is not forfeited by want of priority.

* Quincy's Harvard College, 1, 464. † Winthrop's New England, 2, 264, n.

Rev. Dr. Felt mentions that he found in the State House in Boston a bill in Mr. Endecott's handwriting, for the cure of a man committed to his care, in which he styles himself "Chirurgion"; and an early unstudied letter of his, without date, addressed to Governor Winthrop, when Mrs. Winthrop's health was a subject of anxiety, offers Unicorn's Horn, Syrup of Violet, and other rare and potent remedies, and adds, "if I knew how or in what way in this case to do her good I would with with all my heart, and would now have come to you, but I am altogether unskilful in these cases of women."* Mr. Endecott's training and practice in the healing art were probably a part of a slight preparation for the exigencies of his residence in the wilderness. I do not discover that he had any other habitual occupation than the service of the colony; to which he was devoted with equal zeal, as Governor, as Deputy Governor, as Assistant, as Sergeant-Major-General, and in other important duties. To say that he served sixteen years, but not successively, as Governor, till his death, on March 15, 1665, and that he was for four years Deputy Governor, and for the same period Sergeant-Major-General, shows the high responsibility, but not the intensity and value of his labors. His frequent title of Captain, and his election to the offices of Colonel, Sergeant-Major-General, and member of the Military Committee, are evidences of his military reputation. His short campaign against the Pequod Indians in 1636 exposed him to censure. Judge John Davis calls it "an ill-conducted expedition, of which Plymouth and Connecticut complained that it only tended to irritate the Indians and to make them more insolent." He adds that "Johnson

* Mass. His. Soc. Collections, 4th se., VII., 156.

calls it a 'bootless voyage,'" "though its avowed object was death to all the male inhabitants of Block Island, and heavy contributions from the Pequods."* It may be that Endecott, remembering Cradock's beneyolent "Instructions,"† was one of those, who thought it would be better to convert some Indians before they killed any. He was not accused of want of courage or prudence, and Governor Winthrop indirectly commended him, in recording as a "marvelous providence," that they came all safe to Boston. As a planter he is remembered for his fruit trees, and particularly for a pear tree, set by him, on an estate now owned by a descendant, which in the present year bore a large crop. His exchange, in 1645, of 500 apple trees for 250 acres of land is recorded.‡

The personal eminence and greater resources of Governor Winthrop have thrown into the shade the first administration of Governor Endecott, in its weakness and sore perplexities. The historical memorials of Endecott are few and scattered. That part of the records of the Company that related to the sending him and his companions, and the position in which he came, has not been preserved. The early letters of instruction to him, and his letters in return, showing how he understood and performed his duty, are lost. The official records of the proceedings of his brief government, and his letters in explanation and defence of his measures, are so lost and forgotten that a doubt has arisen whether he ever held the office. He has been separately commemorated only in the interesting and modest "memoir," prepared by Charles M. Endicott, Esq., a descendant of the seventh generation, and printed for the use

* Winthrop's New England, I., 229-233. Morton's Memorial, 186. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I., 60. † *Archæologia Americana*, III., 84. ‡ Mem. of John Endecott, by C. M. Endicott.

of his family, in an edition so small that the book is not accessible to the public. Endecott did not, like his friend, leave evidence of his administrative ability and unsurpassed discretion, in an admirable journal of the public incidents of his time; and in a large correspondence, carefully preserved, to be presented for the instruction of posterity, by filial reverence that comprehends his large views and sympathizes in his spirit.

The standing of Mr. Endecott in history as a ruler and one whom Homer would describe as "a shepherd of the people," has been injured by the careless writing of some of his contemporaries and best friends. They have conveyed the impression that he came to the Colony with the royal charter, not to establish and act under civil government, but to prepare for it; a different and more humble duty. Mr. William Hubbard, the historian, who is supposed to be indebted for information in a great degree, to his own neighbor, Roger Conant, and to Governor Winthrop, makes the same representation, with the addition that Mr. Endecott was the "new agent," as Mr. Conant had been the "agent before." He also states that Mr. John White, who, in his home in Dorchester, England, was truly the "Planter" of Massachusetts Bay, engaged the Treasurer of "the Joint Adventurers" to write to Mr. Conant to induce him to remain here, before Mr. Endecott was employed, and also to "'signify to Mr. Conant' that they had chosen him to be their Governor in that place and would commit to him the charge of all their affairs."* It has hence been inferred that Mr. Conant was as much a Governor as Mr. Endecott.

* Hubbard's *New England*, 106, 109.

Mr. Haven, the Librarian, and a member of the Council of our Society, has brought out the truth of this passage of history in such condensed and lucid order, in the Third Volume of our Transactions, that it would be sufficient to refer to his conclusions, if it were not desirable to ascertain the value and merit of the public service of these Fathers of Massachusetts, by a view of the more important incidents of their lives. Among many contributions, with which Mr. Haven has enriched this Society, there is none of greater interest and authority, than that account of the "Origin of the Company."

Mr. Roger Conant was "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," residing in Plymouth, about two years after 1623.* Charles Deane, LL.D., in his valuable notes to the edition of Bradford's History of Plymouth, which we owe to his personal exertions, takes notice that Bradford does not mention Conant in that history.† On account of dislike of the principles of rigid separation, Conant migrated from Plymouth to Nantasket, where he was connected with Lyford and Oldham, unlucky and disreputable companions. When this settlement was broken up, he, with Lyford and a part of the settlers, attempted a settlement at Cape Ann. There he received the encouragement of John White and the offer of the office of Governor, that has been mentioned, but I find no record that he ever exercised legal authority. From Cape Ann he removed with a part of the settlers to Naumkeag. There, in 1626 or 1627, Mr. John White wrote to him, "not so to desert the business," with Lyford and others, who were going to Virginia, and "faithfully promised" if

* Hubbard's New England, 106 and 107.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., III., 195.

Conant and Woodbury, Balch and Palfrey, known to be honest and prudent men, would remain, they should receive supplies, and a patent should be provided. This was agreed to ; but before they received any return according to their desires, the three "honest men" last mentioned began to recoil, on account of fear of the Indians and other inconveniences, and resolved to go to Virginia with Lyford. But Mr. Conant, "as one inspired by some superior instinct, though earnestly pressed to go, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, though all the rest should forsake him, not doubting, as he said, but if they departed, he should soon have more company. The other three observing his confident resolution, at last concurred with him," and they sent to England for supplies. This was the great work of Conant, to preserve the nucleus of a settlement at Naumkeag, which Endecott and Winthrop enlarged into a Colony. In 1671 Mr. Conant, in a petition to the General Court for a grant of land, says, "I have been a planter in New England for forty years and upwards, being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolved and made good any settlement with my family in this colony, and I have been instrumental for the founding and carrying on the same ; and when in the infancy thereof it was in great danger of being deserted, I was the means, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few, who were here with me."* He also mentions that he "was the first that had a house in Salem." There were two other instances in which Mr. Conant exercised public authority, but in both he acted as a man and not as a ruler. The first

* Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, 27, n.

occurred, as Mr. Deane points out, before Conant's residence at Cape Ann.* A quarrel arose at Cape Ann, about a fishing stand, between the residents and a company from Plymouth, under Capt. Standish, who would have led them on to blows and bloodshed, if Mr. Conant, and Mr. Pierce, Captain of the *May Flower*, being present, had not interposed "with prudence and moderation," and removed the cause of disagreement.† Hubbard also mentions that Mr. Conant acted as peacemaker in a controversy between the older residents and the men who came with Endecott to Naumkeag, which in consequence of this, or after this, was called Salem, the city of peace. I do not know that there is any record, that on this or any other occasion Mr. Conant had any official intercourse with Mr. Endecott. The quiet retirement, in which Mr. Conant lived after the arrival of Endecott to the end of his long life, gives probability to the remark of Dr. Young, that "Conant and his associates, as was natural, appear to have been jealous of the new comers who had arrived with Endecott, and probably did not like it that their authority was to be superseded by his government, and their plantation absorbed by his colony. The Massachusetts Company seem to have treated the old planters with great consideration and kindness."‡ Though Mr. Conant was well known and respected, he is not mentioned by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, and I do not find that in the last 49 years of his life, he held any public office but that of Delegate from Salem to the General Court in 1634, and, in 1637, the office of a Justice of the Quarterly Court. His life extended from 1591 to 1679.§

*Mass. His. Soc. Coll., 4th se., III., 195, n. †Hubbard's *New England*, 110-111.

‡Young's *Chron. Massachusetts*, p. 145, n. § *Geneal. Register*, 2, 223, 229.

The desire to establish a Puritan Colony, that induced the "Joint Adventurers" at Dorchester, England, to attempt to support the plantation of Mr. Conant, was entertained by stronger men with more systematic arrangements, in London. In the Planter's Plea, we read that "enquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage; and it fell out that among others, they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept the offer as soon as it was tendered."* Hereupon divers persons subscribed "a reasonable sum of money." On the 19th of March, 1628, John Endecott joined with five other "religious persons," Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey and Simon Whetcomb, in purchasing "a patent" of the territory of Massachusetts Bay from "the Corporation styled the Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America."† Without delay, a company of the patentees and their associates was organized by the election of Matthew Cradock, a merchant of wealth, liberality, and influence, as the Governor, with a Deputy Governor and a Council of Assistants of the same character and standing. On the 20th of June, 1628,‡ three months after the purchase of the patent, John Endecott sailed with about one hundred followers, and arrived at Naumkeag on the 6th of September. No part of the records of the company, in relation to sending Endecott, is preserved, except an order to pay the passage of him and his family after his arrival was known, on Feb.

* Planter's Plea in Chron. Massachusetts, p. 18.

† Hutchinson's Massachusetts. ‡ Archæologia Americana, III., 3.

13, 1629.* But a letter from Matthew Cradock to Capt. Endecott, dated Feb. 16, 1629, incidentally furnishes all the information that is necessary. The letter is partly private and partly in behalf of the company. It acknowledges letters of "large advise" dated 13th of Sept. last, for which hearty thanks are given. These letters, and a letter from Mr. Cradock mentioned with date of Nov. last, have not been found. Mr. Cradock speaks of the increase of the company, promises supplies, and asks for return cargoes; says we are confident of your best endeavors for the general good, and trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of the plantation, and keep a watchful eye over your own people, and endeavor to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the gospel; he commends his prudence in giving our countrymen content in the point of planting tobacco for the present, but trusts that other means more comfortable and profitable may be found; he warns him to be cautious and distrustful towards the Indians, and informs him it is fully resolved to send over at least two ministers; but does not promise the office of Governor or any increase of official power, nor does he recognize or allude to any other authority in Capt. Endecott than that which belongs to a wise and good man, who is respected as the Father of his people. It is passing strange that no allusion is made to the expectation of a royal charter, with full powers of civil government for the company, in this letter, dated sixteen days before March 4, 1629, the date of the charter. The charter recites the names of John Endecott and the other purchasers, at whose "humble suit and petition" it was granted.† On the

* *Archæologia Americana*, III. 8.

† *Hutchinson's Papers*, p. 1.

30th of April, 1629, an order of "the General Court at London" states that Capt. Endecott had been chosen by the Company to be Governor of the Plantation in Massachusetts Bay "for one whole year, or UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THIS COURT SHALL SEE FIT TO MAKE CHOICE OF ANY OTHER TO SUCCEED IN HIS PLACE." A deputy Governor and a council of Assistants were elected with the same term of office; and official oaths were required by the Charter before they undertook the execution of the several offices. Persons were specially assigned to administer the oath to the Governor. I cannot ascertain the date of the election of Governor Endecott. A letter of instructions from the Governor and Deputy Governor of the company to him and his council, dated April 17, mentions the election as a past transaction, forwards to him a "*duplicate*" of the "Letters Patent under the Broad Seal," as the charter was called, offers expressions of strong confidence, and gives much good advice. This, and a second letter from the same source and for the same purpose, dated May 28, have been justly admired as able statements of the views and intentions of the men by whom the settlement was projected.

The Planter's Plea says, "The often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of this kingdom, the good report of Gov. Endecott's government, and the increase of the colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates not formerly engaged."* Thus Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassal, John Winthrop, and eight other gentlemen of estate, intelligence, and respectability, were led to unite in an agreement, signed by them on the 29th of August, 1629, binding themselves to embark for

* Young's Chron. of Massachusetts, p. 14.

New England, "to inhabit and continue there," provided that "the whole government, together with the patent, shall be legally transferred and established, to remain" with them and others who shall inhabit said plantation.* Such an undertaking must have required consideration and consultation for some time previous. The negotiations connected with it could not have been secret, and they must have been made known to Governor Endecott in the first months of his official power, and he must have seen, that it was not likely that his hand could retain the sceptre which he had made worth possessing. He nobly endured this trial of his character. Though he suffered many reproaches in his active, earnest life, he was never accused of envy, jealousy, or discontent, on account of his being superseded by Mr. Winthrop. And more than this—as you will presently be reminded—in this time of uncertainty and inevitable anxiety, he carried through a difficult measure of great consequence to the character and the permanence of the Colony, and to the relief of him who should be its Governor.

At a General Court of the Company, in London, on Oct. 20, 1629, Governor Cradock "acquainted those present that the especial occasion of this Court was the election of a new Governor, Deputy and Assistants, the government being to be transferred into New England, according to the former order and resolution of the Company."† An election was then made, of John Winthrop as Governor, and John Humphrey as Deputy Governor, and 18 Assistants, including Matthew Cradock and John Endecott. As a mere outline of the official service of the first rulers of Massachusetts cannot be truly presented, if the Patent and its transfer be

* Hutchinson's Papers, pp. 25-26. † *Archæologia Americana*, III., 61-62.

left out of view, I will ask your patience for a brief consideration of them.

On these important subjects our modern histories give large and able discussions, with opposite conclusions. James Grahame, LL.D., in his interesting and favorable picture of all things affecting the character of America, offers as "the only rational solution of the doubts and difficulties" that arise in relation to the transfer of the Patent and the religious independence of the Colony, the hypothesis that "the King was exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in subduing the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the churches in England, they should have permission to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion."* As a lawyer, learned in the accepted principles of his own day, Mr. Grahame could not tolerate a transfer of the charter by the Company; but he might have looked above royal favor, to the Providential order of affairs and events in England, which gave to the Colonists opportunity, encouragement and strength, for peaceable changes in government and religion, that the boldest revolutionist would not have dared to attempt; and our copious and brilliant historian, George Bancroft, LL.D., with equal confidence, and the support of one of the ablest jurists of our country, Justice Joseph Story, maintains that the charter was "far from conceding to the Patentees the privilege of freedom of

* Grahame's *United States*. I., 258-9.

worship ; not a line alludes to such a purpose. The omission of an express guarantee left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected.* An opinion of Justice Story, that the propriety of the vote to transfer the government and patent, "in a judicial point of view cannot be sustained," seems not to have been adopted by Mr. Bancroft. He says, the vote was simply a decision of the question, where the future meetings of the Company should be held. "The Corporation migrated. They could call a legal meeting at London, or on board ship in an English harbor ; and why not in the port of Salem, as well as in the Isle of Wight ; in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goff, in London?" "Whatever may be thought of the legality of the decision, it gave to Massachusetts a present government." This decision was no rash and unconsidered act. Mr. Bancroft mentions that the transfer was made "after serious debate," and an adjourned session, and the action of "a committee raised to take advice of learned counsel, whether the same could be legally done or no." This occurred in the time of Sir Edward Coke, when there was no lack of legal acuteness. It is the deliberate conclusion of Mr. Haven,† from which I think few will dissent after investigation, that the proceedings of the Colonists were "open and notorious, and sanctioned by the acquiescence of the British government." The cotemporary history abundantly shows the correctness of the opinion of Dr. Palfrey‡ and Mr. Haven,§ that "a political purpose," or in

* Bancroft's United States, I., 372, 383. Religious uniformity fared no better.

† *Archæologia Americana*, III., 50.

‡ Palfrey's *New England*, I, 308, also quoting Mr. Burke for the same opinion.

§ *History of Grants under the Great Council for New England*, p. 25.

the words of Dr. Palfrey, "a probable purpose of a renovated England in America was entertained by the Puritan leaders, in view of the clouds that were gathering over their political prospects at home." "Those were not the times for such men as the Massachusetts patentees to ask what the King wished or expected, but rather how much freedom could be maintained against him, by the letter of the law and other righteous means." Yet they were careful not to impair their strength, by losing the approbation and good will of the government and people of England.*

Before Governor Winthrop had passed two years in giving organization and efficiency to his government, it became necessary to defend the charter and its privileges with an earnest struggle. The first foes were unwilling members of his own household, whose worthless settlements had been absorbed by the growing colony. Hubbard writes that "Sir Christopher Gardner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliff, having been punished there for their misdemeanors—being set on, as was affirmed, by Sir Fernando Gorges, Capt. Mason and others, in 1632, complained and petitioned against the Colonial Government."† A full hearing was had by the King's council and reported to the King. The result

* At a later period, the Earl of Clarendon, in framing his plan for the government of the colonies by commissioners, remarked that "they were already hardened into republics." That Charles II. imputed much of this hardening to the agency of Gov. Endecott, is apparent in a letter to Massachusetts Colony, written by Secretary Morice in behalf of the King, dated Feb. 25, 1665; which concludes by stating that "his Majesty has too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected to his Majesty's person or his government. His Majesty will take it very well, if, at the next election, any other person of good reputation be chosen in his place." Before the next election Gov. Endecott died, but his successors were selected in view of the continuance of his policy.—Moore's *Governors*, 360; Hutchinson's *Papers*, 392.

† Hubbard's *New England*, 153. Neal's *Puritans*.

was, that the King "said he would have them severely punished, who did abuse his Governor and Plantation, and that the defendants were dismissed with a favorable order for their encouragement, being *assured by some of the Council*, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them, for it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to them."* This gracious encouragement may have been falsely reported, and at best it must be considered to be of little value. But the fact remains that, at this period of immaturity and weakness, these powerful enemies did not direct their attack against the charter or its transfer.

In 1636 or 1637, a writ of Quo Warranto was brought against the Company by Sir John Banks, Attorney General, which sets forth that the members of "said Company in New England, for three years last past and more, used in London and other places, as also in several parts beyond the seas, out of this kingdom of England, without any warrant or royal grant, the liberties, privileges and franchises following," &c.† And in the specifications it is not alleged that the action of the Company is more unwarranted beyond the seas than in England. And in 1684 "the exemplification of the judgment" by which the charter was vacated, specifies three causes, levying taxes, coining money, and administering oaths of allegiance to the colony; and does not name the transfer of the charter as one of the causes.‡ In the long interval between the bringing a writ of Quo Warranto, in 1637, to the judgment in 1684, "the clouds gathering over the politics of England," to which Dr. Palfrey alludes, were a blessing of

* Mr. Grahame has much reliance on this incident.

† Hutchinson's Papers, 101. ‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th ser., II., 246.

Providence to protect and nourish the growth of political independence and freedom from the Church of England (with a tendency to larger liberty) in the Colonies, which would have been trampled out; if the career of the English monarchy had been prosperous.

In the absence of letters and records relating to the action of Mr. Endecott as Agent and as Governor, I can offer but a brief account of it, under three heads. First, he could do nothing better than to draw together the eight or ten little heterogeneous settlements in the Bay, and teach them that it was their interest to be united. This must be done with meekness of wisdom, without a display of authority that might create alarm, and therefore it was less exposed to historical notice. I can specify no measure for this object but an exploration of the country west, mentioned by Governor Hutchinson.* I do not perceive that any work of this sort required the attention of Governor Winthrop. Second, the statement of the Planter's Plea, and other histories, that the good report of Captain Endecott's government and the increase of the colony induced a larger number of good men to come over, is evidence of the greatest weight and significance. Third, the expulsion of Messrs. John Brown and Samuel Brown from the Colony, in August, 1629, proves that he acted as a legal and a wise governor. The full account of this incident is found only in Nathaniel Morton's Memorial, (chiefly of Plymouth), though it is confirmed by the records and documents of Massachusetts. Mr. Morton wrote from information received from his uncle, Governor William Bradford of Plymouth,† and from manuscripts left

* Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, I., p. 17. † Morton's *Memorial*, pp. 147-8.

in his study. John Brown and Samuel Brown were men of respected character and great social influence, and after this time they were members of Parliament. They came over at the same time as the charter, and they are named among the five persons authorized to administer the oath of office to Governor Endecott, and they were members of his council.* They resided in Salem, where they, and other passengers recently arrived, observing that the Book of Common Prayer and the ceremonies of the English Church were not used, began to raise some trouble. They gathered a company together, in a place distant from the public assembly, and there the Book of Common Prayer was used. "The Governor, Mr. Endecott, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow among the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers, as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they would be Separatists and Anabaptists, &c., but for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers answered for themselves; they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; they did not separate from the Church of England, but only from the corruption and disorders there; and that they came away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and, therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL and the generality of the people did

* An honorary introduction of them by the London Company to Gov. Endecott, is added to the "Instructions," which are the frame of the new government. These circumstances are mentioned to show the position and power of the two brothers.

well approve of the ministers' answer; and, therefore, finding these two brothers to be of high spirits and *their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction*, the Governor told them that New England was no place for such as they; and, therefore, sent them both back for England at the return of the ships the same year. And though they breathed out threatenings both against the Governor and ministers there, the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.* "On the 16th of October, 1629, Mr. Cradock, Governor of the Company in London, and the members of his Council, including Mr. Winthrop, addressed and individually signed separate letters to the two ministers, Messrs. Skelton and Higginson, and to Governor Endecott, in relation to the rumors of scandalous and intemperate speeches by the ministers, and of rash innovations in civil and ecclesiastical government, circulated by the Messrs. Brown, who had recently arrived. The letter to the ministers expresses a strong hope that the accusations are untrue, and urges them to clear themselves or expect that order will be taken "for the redress thereof." To Governor Endecott they write that "we do well consider that the Browns are likely to make the worst of anything they have observed in New England, by reason of your sending them back against their wills for their offensive behavior, expressed in a *general letter* from the company there.† Yet for that we likewise do consider that you are in a government newly founded and want that assistance which the weight of such a business doth require, we may have

* Morton's N. E. Memorial, p. 147. et. seq.

† Archaeologia Americana, III. pp. 53-54. This *general letter*, probably from Endecott's Council, has not been found.

leave to think it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put on execution, which may have ill construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary. Let it, therefore, seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here, to which, as we ought, we must and will have an obsequious eye." And then follows a vague requirement, that if he knows any thing "to detract from God's glory or his majesty's honor that hath been spoken or done by the ministers or any others," he should "send due process" against the offenders, that we may, as our duty binds us, use means to have them duly punished." The object of this last passage, and of the letters generally, was to ward off, by the offer of prompt justice, the ill will and hostility against the Colony which the Browns would soon stir up in the English government and people. These letters throw strong light on the standing of Endecott's government, not only by the expressions of respect and confidence, but still more by the absence of any intimation that this proceeding was not legal and authorized by the official "Instructions" which were a part of his appointment. The words are, "if any persons prove incorrigible, and will not be reclaimed by gentle correction, ship such persons home by the Lion's Whelp rather than keep [them] there to infect or be an occasion of scandal unto others; we being persuaded that if one or two be so reshipped back and *certifcate* sent home of their misdemeanor, it will be a terror to the rest, and a means to reduce them to good conformity."* The letters give no hint of a power or disposition to

The "general letter" mentioned on page 133, was the "certificate" required.

overrule Governor Endecott's proceedings. In Chalmers's political Annals, page 146, we read "when the persons had arrived in England, they who had been thus expelled naturally appealed to the Governor and Company for reparation of their wrongs, but it appears not from their Records, that they received any redress. The insolence of contempt was added to the injustice of power." It does appear from the Records of Sept. 19, 1629, that arbitrators to settle this claim were agreed on by the Browns and the Company, and Mr. Winthrop was one of them. And they were ordered to "determine and end the business on the first Tuesday of next term."* If this settlement had been made, it would have been a proper subject of the lost Colony records and not of the records of the Company. If the settlement had not been made, the complaints of the Browns would not have ceased to appear in history. I regret that I could not present more briefly a historical incident that deserves full consideration for its legal character and its momentous consequences. It has been sufficiently apparent that the expulsion was not a spasmodic act of tyranny, but a regular authorized action of a Government legally established. As to the consequences, the question was presented whether the church of the conformists, established by these gentlemen with so much promise at Salem, and supported by the favor, wealth and power of its friends in England, should be permitted to disturb and overturn the place of refuge, which the Puritans had begun to prepare for themselves. If Governor Endecott and his Council and Colonists did not remember, Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster and the men of Plymouth, with whom they were

* *Archæologia Americana*, III., p. 60.

then in frequent consultation, would not allow them to forget that such conformists as these persecuted good John Robinson, thwarted his strong purpose to come to Plymouth, and deprived his people of the comfort and guidance of their beloved pastor. If the Messrs. Brown and their friends had been suffered to go on in their enterprise, the Colony would have divided and perhaps broken up, and the worthy and desirable immigrants, who had recently come and all the best of the population would have sought more agreeable homes. Moreover, this victory of Governor Endecott made it less difficult to preserve the integrity of the Colony in future years. We may conjecture that the apprehension of the power of the Messrs. Brown induced a prompt consummation of the arrangement long since made, for the transfer of the whole government and charter and the election of Governor Winthrop. And the idea might have been entertained that it would be considered a concession if Governor Endecott should be superseded. It appears that the measure was carried into effect suddenly. At the Court of the Company, held on Oct. 16, 1629, when the letters to the Governor and ministers were signed, "it is conceived fit that Captain Endecott continue the government there unless just cause to the contrary."* At a court of the 20th of October, four days after, the transfer of the Government was voted and Governor Winthrop was elected to supersede Governor Endecott, who was chosen one of his Council of Assistants. It may be presumed that Governor Winthrop had afterwards no trouble about the Messrs. Brown, for I do not find their names in his journal.

The personal relation of Governor Endecott to Governor

* *Archæologia Americana*, III., p. 59.

Winthrop deserves particular notice. The unostentatious and unobserved relinquishment of office by Endecott seems to me to be a high-minded act that has not received the praise which it deserves. That it is not an easy performance in modern days is proved by unhappy examples of most eminent statesmen. But Governor Endecott betrayed no envy or disappointment. And I have not found any evidence of censure or disrespect at any time between these most prominent founders of Massachusetts. Mr. Endecott cordially welcomed Governor Winthrop on his arrival at Naumkeag, on June 12, 1630.* Governor Winthrop writes in his Journal, "Mr. Endecott came to us with Mr. Skelton (the pastor), and Capt. Lovett. We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our Captain returned with them to Naumkeag, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer." Another demonstration of good will is indicated in the entry of August 18, 1630: "Capt. Endecott and ——— Gibson were married by the Governor and Mr. Wilson." That this friendly intercourse, so promptly begun, was continued during the life of Governor Winthrop, is proved by many letters from Endecott to Winthrop. They are expressed in the dignified confidence of friendship, with assurances of warm affection, and with kind messages to Mrs. Winthrop. Though I can find no replies to these letters, it cannot be doubted that they existed. It would have been impossible that such expressions of personal regard should have been so repeated by such a man as Endecott, unless they were reciprocated. That the remaining letters of so good a scholar and so ready a writer as Governor Winthrop are so few, and the letters

* Winthrop's New England, I., p. 30.

addressed to him are very numerous, must be imputed to the methodical habits of the Governor, and the carelessness of his correspondents. To show the character of Mr. Endecott's letters to his friend, I will offer two brief extracts. He writes under date of 2d of 12th month, 1639, on occasion of Governor Winthrop's loss, by misconduct of his bailiff in England, "If I should say I do not heartily and truly love you and yours, I should speak against my conscience; yet I cannot satisfy myself with sole verbal expressions. Sometimes I am thinking He [the Lord,] is upon the trial of yourself in the exercise of your faith, and patience, and other graces; that as you have been beneficial and helpful all your time, since you came over, in the course he hath set you, now he will make you beneficial another way to us all, in an exemplary, cheerful undergoing of God's afflicting hand in wisdom and patience." And his letter, dated March 5th, 1649, three weeks before Governor Winthrop's death, has this passage: "Good sir, let us labor to love [one] another, and harbor the best thoughts of one another. We have not long to live here in this life, yet we shall remain as long as our appointed times are set," and let us "labor for cheerfulness of spirit. You know who hath commanded it."*

The character of Capt. Endecott is beautifully transparent, in a letter addressed by him to Governor Winthrop, April 12, 1631, near the end of Winthrop's first year; after stating the cause of his non-attendance at a court as one of the assistants, and other things, he says: "Sir, I desired the rather to have been at Court, because I hear I am much complained on by goodman Dexter for striking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in striking him, understanding

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th se., VI., 136 and 150.

since that it is not lawful for a Justice of the Peace to strike. But if you had seen the manner of his carriage, with such daring of me, with his arms on kimbo, &c. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write no more of it, but leave it till we speak before you face to face. Only thus far further, that he hath given out, *if I had a purse* he would make me empty it ; and if he cannot have justice here he will do wonders in England ; and if he cannot prevail there he will try it out with me here at blows. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it at blows, and he a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain. But I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course ;” and the letter, after proposing “dismissing the Court,” on account of planting season, concludes in these words : “I will be with you, the Lord assisting me, as soon as conveniently I can. In the meanwhile, I commit you to his protection and safeguard, that never fails his children, and rest, your unfeigned, loving friend to command.”* On the trial, the jury found Capt. Endecott guilty, and assessed the damages at forty shillings (xl s.).

Governor Winthrop, prompted by his sense of honor, does not record, in his admirable journal, this misfortune of his friend, nor any scandal of the time. Mr. Savage mentions the case briefly in a note, and says “the verdict was £10 damages.” This mistake must have been occasioned by a careless inspection of the original Colonial record, which, on examination, is found to justify the 40 s. of the printed volume. The correction of this error is important, because so large an amount as ten pounds would indicate a gross outrage.

* Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, 50.

This Court was held May 3, 1631. On the preceding 30th of November, Sir Richard Saltonstall, whose name is always mentioned as the first in a list of assistants, was fined £5 "for whipping two several persons without the presence of another assistant." It was a frequent practice that members of the government should honor the laws by submitting to the penalties. Such proceedings would tend to promote a respect for law and order among our fathers which their children sometimes boast that they have inherited. Each of these two defendants sat as assistant in the court at the session when he was punished. On other occasions he was subjected to slight public censure, when he expressed too strongly by words and acts, the opinions that other leading men held in secret. With such a mind and temper, through his long life he retained a large share of the confidence and respect of his peculiar people; and his cordial friendship with that native nobleman, Governor Winthrop, was interrupted only by death. On November 19, 1632, a little more than *two years* after the active administration of Governor Winthrop began, Capt. Thomas Wiggin wrote to Sir John Coke, Under-Secretary, that "the English in New England, numbering about two thousand, and generally most industrious, have done more *in three years* than others in seven times that space, at one tenth of the expense." * Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, says after the death of Thomas Dudley, (1653), "the notice and respect of the Colony fell chiefly on John Endecott, who, after many services done for the colony, even before it was a Colony, as well as when he saw it grow into a populous nation under his prudent and equal government, expired in a good old

* Sainsbury's Calendar, 156.

age." And Hubbard seems to claim that his influence lived after him, by saying that after the death of Mr. Endecott (March 23, 1665,) "Mr. Bellingham was elected till his death by the general consent of the freemen, who, apprehending the danger of some change, resolutely fixed their choice upon such persons, as they judged most likely to maintain the government in that same state, wherein it hath been heretofore, without the least alteration or change."

Governor Endecott accepted with confidence, and maintained the doctrines and practices of the Puritans. Governor Hutchinson speaks of him as "among the most zealous undertakers and most rigid in principles." But a modern notion, that he was more bigoted and severe than the other leading men of his time, is not supported by history. He is not fairly treated, when he is selected for the contempt of posterity, because he acted with Deputy Governor Dudley, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and the other magistrates, in signing a paper which sets forth that "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the Godly of our nation until within these few years, we, the magistrates who have subscribed this paper, (for the showing of our *own innocency* in this behalf), do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do deform themselves and offend sober and modest men." "We do, therefore, earnestly entreat all the elders of this jurisdiction" to manifest their zeal against it, "and to take care that the members of their respective churches be

not defiled therewith," &c.* Governor Hutchinson, who preserves this document in his history, calls this movement "an association against long hair." As this paper, which is dated 3d month, 10th day, 1649, is said to be taken from "Harvard College records," it gives occasion for the conjecture that it was prepared to have a good influence on the college. The graceful locks, that relieve the hard outline of the philosophical cap of the Governor, show that he had no personal dislike of the ornament of hair. He is also reproached for aiding Roger Williams in requiring women to wear veils at church.† This was resisted successfully by the women, with the aid of Rev. Mr. Cotton. Governor Endecott showed a better spirit in his desire to save Mary Dyer, the Quaker or Antinomian, from a capital sentence, when he did violence to his own conscience by suggesting to her the denial of her identity and putting her accusers to the proof.‡ But she was too brave to adopt this defence, or to accept her life on condition that she would leave the colony.

It is necessary to speak as briefly as I can of the agency of Governor Endecott in the persecution for religious opinions. This persecution has been described as a black cloud on the character of the colonists, resting with its most baleful shade on Endecott, who officially represented the opinions, which he shared with the majority, including many of the wisest and best of the people, and which it was his duty to enforce by legal sanction. While no man can defend those cruel acts, no just man will overlook the extenuating

* Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, 1, 142. President Quincy and Mr. Benjamin Peirce in their histories of the college, take no notice of this paper.

† Moore's *Governors*. 352.

‡ Sewell's *History of Quakers*, 1, 394.

circumstances under which those acts were done. The provocations were great. The colonists had come to the wilderness as a place of refuge, where they might enjoy their religious opinions and practices, without the disgrace and violence which they suffered in England. Before they were strong in union and a common interest, Anabaptists, Antinomians and Quakers came among them, in spite of prohibitions, with no apparent purpose but to stir up opposition and strife. The Quakers, who were the most numerous, were not such cheerful, peaceable, thrifty and independent christian philosophers, as those who are now called by the same name. They and the other foes to the peace of the Puritans, were bold, aggressive disturbers of private society and public assemblies, and hostile to the influence of christian teachers and the authority of civil rulers. Among them were fierce railers, having no respect for decency, who created an odium against others of more gentle mood, associated with them in some of their opinions. Thus the amiable and misguided, under the influence of a mania for martyrdom, in the confusion of the times, were made conspicuous victims. In these things the Puritans were not sinners above their contemporaries. The two folios of Besse's "Collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers," give accounts of this inhumanity in Virginia and in the American islands, in England, Germany, and other parts of Europe, and in Asia. It was a time when private and public discipline was rude and painful. Punishments, for ecclesiastical and political offences by barbarous wounds on the person were frequent and were not followed by dishonor. William Prynne, the learned lawyer and antiquary, and indomitable Puritan, was sentenced, for writing against the church and

churchmen, to pay a large fine, to be degraded from his profession, and to stand in the pillory in two different places, and to have one ear cut off in each place, and his nose slit and his forehead branded, and to be perpetually imprisoned.* This sentence was rigorously executed in 1634.† He repeated the offence and was again punished in 1637 by the pillory, by marks on his cheeks, and by the loss of the remainder of his ears. In 1641 he was a member of Parliament and took the lead in the impeachment of Archbishop Laud.

The "civil sword" was considered a proper weapon of truth and righteousness for common use. Besse remarks that "the edge of these old [English] laws was now turned upon the Quakers, while the Papists, against whom they were originally made, were little molested."‡ The same author gives the names of twenty-five men and women in England, who, as Quakers, between 1650 and 1660, died in prison and in consequence of abuses. In the list for New England, in the same period, I do not find that any Quakers lost their lives for their opinions, but the four who were tried and executed according to the law. It is a sad and surprising evidence of the weakness of humanity, that the Puritans, honest and earnest men, could have the Bible constantly and reverently in their memories and on their lips, without obeying its lessons of kindness and forbearance. And the example and precept of the neighboring

* *Biographie Generale*.

† *Pictorial Hist. of England*, 3, 155, 166. Immediately after, he wrote a "stinging letter" to Laud, and was again brought to the Star Chamber, where, after conviction, according to Laud's account, he mercifully forgave him.

‡ *Besse's History*.

Colony of Rhode Island were also disregarded. The government of that Colony replied to the request of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, that Rhode Island should concur in the exclusion of the Quakers, by a letter distinguished for its fraternal spirit, its sagacity, and its independence. After cordial expressions of respect and good will, the letter goes on thus: "And as concerning these Quakers (so-called), which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for declaring by words their minds and understanding concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition; and we moreover find, that in those places where these people in this Colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come. And we are told they begin to loath this, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority," &c. "Yet we conceive that their doctrines tend to very absolute cutting down and overturning civil government among men, if generally received."* Hubbard, a contemporary, in his notice of the continuance of this error in Massachusetts, in the imprisonment and disfranchisement of Baptists, says, "by this severity it was expected that they should have been restrained, but it proved otherwise. The bent of all men's nature makes it true, '*nitimur in vetitum*,' (Ovid), and like waters that are pent up, they swell more and more."†

With a readiness to admit all that is proved against our respected ancestors, it is proper to repel any exaggerations in an indictment by posterity. The painful details that have come down to form the more common opinion of our day, are derived chiefly from two books: one is the "History of the

* Moore's *Governors*, 161.

† Hubbard's *New England*, 561.

rise &c. of the Christian people called Quakers," written by William Sewell, a native of Holland, in the language of that country, and translated by him and published at London, in 1722; the other book is Joseph Besse's "Collection of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers," published at London, in 1753. As it is known that many of the banished disturbers of the Colonists went to Holland and England, when the sense of their wrongs was fresh, there is no cause for wonder, that these books charge Governor Endecott with cruel language and conduct, that are not mentioned and are made improbable by New England records, and are in opposition to contemporary testimonials of his character. Governor Winthrop* alludes to Mr. Endecott's tenderness of conscience, and General James Cudworth spoke of him as "a holy and honest man," in 1634;† though afterwards Cudworth was strongly opposed to the persecution; and it would be easy to cite many such commendations. In answer to the allegation of Besse, that "John Endecott was a principal promoter of the persecution," instances of his forbearance and desire to avoid punishment, might be adduced. His defence of the treatment of the Quakers, in his letter to the King, shows the cautious and conscientious spirit in which the supposed path of duty was followed.‡ Governor Hutchinson mentions that the Quakers gave "rude and contemptuous answers" at an examination that was had to allow them to explain themselves. And afterward one of them, Mary Prince, "railed at and reviled" the Governor from a window, and wrote a letter to the Governor and magistrates, "filled with opprobrious stuff." Yet "the Governor

* Winthrop's New England, 1, 158.
Papers, p. 194.

† Sainsbury's Calendar of Col. State
Hutchinson's Papers, 325.

sent for her twice from the prison to his house and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present and with much moderation and tenderness endeavored to convince her of her errors; to which she returned the grossest railings.”*

When history takes her place among the Muses and wields the witchery of imagination and passion, she gains a power over the opinions and memory of men, that she cannot have with the dry annals of truth. It is a glorious privilege, “when it moves in charity and turns on the poles of truth.” But the license of a poet gives him no right

“To point a moral or adorn a tale,”

by the traditions of party strife, which are not supported by better authorities. Governor Endecott has now, in the minds of some people of the best education, not the character that Governor Winthrop and Morton and Hubbard and other contemporaries have awarded to him, but the cold and cruel image, in which our two most admired poets have represented him. In the *New England Tragedy*, entitled “John Endecott,” Mr. Longfellow has made so prominent the gloomy characteristics imputed to the Governor in Sewell’s *History*, that few will remember that the poet also says :

“He is a man, both loving and severe;
A tender heart : a will inflexible.
None ever loved him more than I have loved him.
He is an upright man and a just man
In all things, save the treatment of the Quakers.”

And these friendly words are turned to gall by this response, put into the mouth of the Governor’s son :

“Yet I have found him cruel and unjust,
Even as a Father.”

* *Hutchinson’s Massachusetts*, I. 181.

After search and inquiry I can discover no evidence that the disposition of Governor Endecott towards his children was different from the affection which he manifested for his friends.

The wrongs of the Quakers is a theme acceptable to Mr. Whittier, not only on account of his brotherhood in the sect, but more so, because he has a brother's love for all, who suffer and are strong. In his sweet and pathetic poem entitled, "Cassandra Southwick," his sympathy for the oppressed seems to have led him to forget, that justice is due even to the agents of oppression. His account of an attempt to sell Cassandra Southwick, to be carried out of the country, into Slavery, as was then practised, is thus introduced :

" And on his horse, with Rawson, his cruel clerk, at hand,
Rode dark and haughty Endecott, the ruler of the land,"
" And poisoning with his evil words, the ruler's ready ear,
The Priest leaned o'er his saddle with laugh and scoff and jeer."

We have seen that there were many occasions when the interest of the Colony and a sense of duty would compel Governor Endecott to be grave and stern. But he would not have retained, as he did through his long life, the respect and confidence of his people, if he had been a dark demon, with clergymen for counsellors, who were mocking fiends. The Priest alluded to by the poet, must have been either John Norton or John Wilson. There is a general assent to the testimony of Hubbard that Norton was "a man of great worth and learning, one that had the tongue of the learned, to speak a word in season to the weary soul."* And Nathaniel Morton, a contemporary, says: "John Wilson

* Hubbard's *New England*, p. 640.

was charitable when there were any signs or hopes of good, and yet withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. Very few, that ever went out of this world, were so generally beloved and revered, as this good man.”*

It will appear that the poetry of passion may be a more impartial witness than the poetry of imagination. Besse gives a long and eloquent letter to Governor Endecott, dated in 1660, from John Smith, of Salem, justly denouncing the cruel treatment of his wife. After an exciting detail of wanton barbarities and false and scandalous accusations against his beloved wife, Mr. Smith adds: “Oh my spirit is grieved for thee, because the love I did ever see in thee is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a spirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedness to thy poor neighbors, which thou hast formerly been much beholden to and helped by, when thou hadst no bread to eat. But now, since thou camest to Boston and left Salem, thou art become much more proud. O, consider of those times and forget them not; and of the love thou didst find among poor people in thy necessity, and how evil thou hast dealt and requited some of them now; and how thou didst walk and act contrary to what thou didst formerly profess; yea, I have heard thee say that ‘*all the armies on earth cannot subdue one lust in man or woman.*’ And now thou pronounceth sentence of death upon some, because they cannot submit to your wills and worship as you do.” Then follows a passage of neighborly gossip about not returning “what was borrowed,” failing to pay poor men for their work, disorders in the Governor’s family, “sitting up late at night,” the “servants very vain

* Morton’s Memorial, 327.

and some of them wicked," &c., and his "children being disobedient to their parents and living loosely in the time of their youth." And the letter concludes, "thy next neighbor in time past, and then serviceable to thee in many things, and it is like somewhat beloved by thee, but now it is otherwise, as appears by thy hard dealing to my beloved wife. This I am constrained to write to thee in love and tenderness."* This earnest and indignant letter must be considered high authority on the question of the temper and disposition of Governor Endecott, because Mr. Smith† had opportunity to know him well and in all this array of accusations and imputations so industriously brought together, there is no charge or intimation of a want of love or kindness, towards his children even when they were disobedient, or towards his servants, even when they were disorderly, or towards any other person, except in the exercise of official power.

There are several indications that Governor Endecott was not one of the rich men of his time. A subscription paper in aid of building the first town hall in Boston, dated 1656, has his name at the head, with a gift of £2 10s. Subscriptions for £10 were made by Deputy Governor Bellingham and a few other persons, and other sums were smaller.‡ The influence of Governor Endecott was not founded on the use of wealth. He was led by his sense of duty and his devotion to the Colony, and by his taste, to give his attention

* Besse's History, Vol. II. 208.

† John Smith was one who would speak out his whole mind, if, as is probable, he is the man who in 1600, at the ordination of John Higginson, disturbed the proceedings and cried out, "what you are about to set up, our God is pulling down." For this he was committed to prison by order of the Court.
—Hutchinson's Massachusetts, I. 187.

‡ Proceedings for corner stone of Boston City Hall in 1862.

chiefly to public affairs. The company in England, according to the record of March 2d, 1629, "propounded" to employ John Malbon, a man "having skill in iron works," to go to New England at their expense, and to return and report what could be done there in that business.* He performed the service. As this occurred when the company relied on information and advice from Capt. Endecott, he should have some credit for this attempt to develop the resources of the country. He also showed that he valued and desired to increase the strength and independence of the colony, in his letter of December 1, 1643, to Governor Winthrop, in which he says, "I want much to hear of your son's iron and steel. If the country will not be encouraged by so useful a design, to enlarge themselves for the advantage of it, I know not what will."† And whenever the chartered or assumed rights of the Colony were threatened by the Crown, or the church, he was roused in defence, with the watchful jealousy of a mother.

Two acts of Governor Endecott, which have often been mentioned to the prejudice of his character for generosity and common sense, should receive such a true representation, as the imperfect records enable one briefly to give. 1, Governor Endecott arrived at Naumkeag, afterwards called Salem, on September 6th, 1628. In the same year he visited Mount Wallaston or Merry Mount, the site of the town of Quincy, and "rebuked the inhabitants for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better."‡ "In the purifying spirit of authority," he cut down the May pole, on which Thomas Morton, the

* *Archæologia Americana*, III. 14.

† *Hutchinson Papers*, 126.

‡ *Winthrop's New England*, I. 34.

leader of these disturbers, had been accustomed to publish his witty and injurious slanders of the Puritans, while his followers danced and played about it in the carousals for which the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians furnished the supplies. Before Endecott came, Merry Mount had become so intolerable for this dangerous armistice and stirring up the Indians, for obstruction of their conversion to Christianity, and for opposition and provocation of the Puritans, that eight plantations obtained and paid for the aid of gallant Capt. Standish, who expelled Thomas Morton and diminished the mischief. It cannot be doubted that the new agent would be urged to finish the work. The May pole was cut down because it was a token of opposition and an instrument of mischief, and not because it was used for pleasure, and its removal was an impressive moral lesson. As the histories do not mention the continuance of trouble at Merry Mount, the visit of Capt. Endecott has a claim to be considered wise and successful.

2, The agency of Capt. Endecott in cutting out the cross from the English flag has been imputed to his own bigotry. In September, 1634, general alarm was excited by news from England that the persecution of the Puritans by Archbishop Laud was increasing in severity. It is a modern discovery that Laud was liberal and tolerant. It was also stated that a commission had been granted to the two Archbishops and others of the King's Council, with authority to establish the Episcopal church, to recall the charter, to remove the Governors, and make the laws of New England. Cradock, Governor of the company, had already sent the information that the King had demanded the charter.* Under

* New England General Register, I. 216. Hubbard's New England, 166. New England Memorial, 137. Hutchinson's Massachusetts.

the delirium of a panic, the Colonial Court discussed the propriety of disusing the flag, on account of the cross, which was regarded as a relic of popish idolatry, and opinions were divided. Capt. Endecott, who was more quick to feel and to act than his associates, cut the cross from the flag. The sword, which is said to have been the instrument of this bold act of rebellion, is preserved as one of the most precious of the heirlooms of his family. At the next meeting of the Court he was summoned to answer for the offence, but "because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred." And the commissioners for military affairs, of whom Endecott was a leading member, gave order, in the meantime, that "all the ensigns should be laid aside." In 1635 a committee reported to the Court that the offence of Mr. Endecott was "great, rash and without discretion—giving occasion to the State of England to think ill of us," &c., &c., without the slightest intimation of its treasonable character, and "they adjudged him worthy of admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office." Mr. Winthrop, not then Governor, and a majority of the Magistrates, did not differ from the opinions of Capt. Endecott, though they united to censure him for the bold and dangerous act, that led them to a more public expression of their own opinions.* In 1636 Governor Winthrop speaks of Governor Vane's permission to spread the King's colors at the fort, and adds, "this was done with this protestation, that we hold the cross in the ensign idolatrous." May we not conjecture that it was the flag, the symbol of foreign

* Winthrop's *New England*, I. 120.

power, more than the cross, that provoked the attack of Mr. Endecott, while his portraits are perpetual witnesses that with the carefulness of a crusader, he always wore the sacred emblem conspicuously marked in the form of his beard.

Though this slight sketch does no justice to the merits and claims of its subject, I venture to offer it as a wreath of memorial leaves, hastily gathered by an unpractised hand, to be laid, in reverence and gratitude, before this worthy image of one of the founders of our nation.

In your enjoyment of the gift, you will desire to remember the giver, who in one act gratifies his feelings of filial regard and fulfills most acceptably his duty, as a member of this Society. I therefore offer for your adoption the following resolutions :

Resolved, that the warmest thanks of this Society are presented to our associate, Hon. William C. Endicott, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, for his most desirable gift of an accurate copy of a beautiful portrait possessed by his family, of his great and good ancestor, John Endecott, the first Governor in Massachusetts Bay.

Resolved, that a copy of the above resolution shall be presented to Judge Endicott by the Recording Secretary.

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